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"INDIA OF TO-DAY."

BY

SYED SIRDAR ALI KHAN.

H. E. The EARL of MINTO, G.M.S.I.,

with

The Author's Homage.


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Sirdar 'Ali Khan, Saiyid.

"INDIA OF TO-DAY."

BY

SYED SIRDAR ALI KHAN

OF HYDERABAD (DECCAN).

Author of

"Lord Curzon's Administration of India."

"Unrest in India,"

Etc. Etc. Etc.

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FOREWORD.

When, on former occasions, I have written on the subject of the position in India during the last few years, I have always laid down my pen hoping that what I have written may assist in some measure the solution of the problems that are pressing on Government, and that the near future may see such changes that, unless some historian cares to treat of this period in an analytical spirit, there may be no more "Indian problem" about which to write. Unfortunately this wish has never been fulfilled; the situation in India to-day is growing steadily worse and worse. Despite former disappointments I have written the following words in the hope that, coming at a time when a critical stage in Indian polity has been reached, they may help in some way to mould those changes which have been foreshadowed and the reforms which are so urgently

needed. If this be accomplished, then my purpose is served. My task has been a labour of love undertaken as some small recognition of the blessings which British rule has given to India, because I fully believe that the sympathy for which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales pleaded is freely extended, and because I think an attempt should be made to render clear the attitude of all loyal Indians to-day. The clamour of the Extremists has so filled the air that the still small voice of loyalty has been drowned; but it is not dead and it will yet rise in such a pæan of praise and thankfulness as to overwhelm the shrill cries of unrest, leaving the enemies of British rule in India barren of credit, preachers to deaf ears.

Beyond this I have no object. There may be passages in what I have written that may cause heart-burning, even anger, both amongst Englishmen and amongst Indians. That I cannot help. I have endeavoured to tell the truth: the truth cannot be disguised, however unpalatable it may be.

Lest in the course of what I have written I may be thought to have offered undue criticism of

Lord Morley, let me say at once that, in my opinion, he is the finest statesman in the present Government. I am not in the counsels of the elect and therefore cannot be expected to know the innermost details of the working of the huge machine of Indian Government, far more complicated in England than here in India; but I am quite certain of one thing, and it is that Lord Morley is the only member of the Government—and I think I may safely go a step further and say of the Liberal Party—capable of guiding the destinies of India through the present serious crisis. So strongly am I convinced of this that I shudder to think what evil would have resulted had any other member of the Government been given charge of the India Office, and I cannot but think that Lord Morley's delays have not been entirely voluntary, but may have been caused by his strained position between the Scylla of Indian sedition and unrest and the Charybdis of political ignorance. Attempts have been made to push and pull him into a path which he knew must lead to destruction; and unable to crush those forces with a blow, he has found safety—not for himself but for India—

in delays which permit of a better understanding on the part of those who have tried to coerce him. Unfettered he would have been able to steer an easier course. But now the time has come for action, and it is the duty of every right-minded man to see that those forces which oppose, one might say almost oppress, him, are rendered as ineffective as possible.

Born out of the sphere of party politics I am, nevertheless, a Conservative, a Tory. In India it is impossible to love one's country and be anything else, and that is why Lord Morley, himself an advanced Liberal, has gained the love and admiration of loyal Indians, for he has submerged his private opinions in the need of the country and has thereby proved himself to be the greatest statesman that England possesses.

If what I have written throws some glimmer of light on the darkness which pervades Indian politics in England, dispelling some of the ignorance which is daily manifested, and covering some of the pitfalls which beset Lord Morley's path, I shall have accomplished my end, and feel that I have not toiled in vain.

To both my English and my Indian readers I would commend the words of the late Lord Tennyson :—

> " Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
> These three alone lead life to sovereign power.
> Yet not for power (power of herself
> Would come uncalled-for) but to live by law,
> Acting the law we live by without fear ;
> And, because right is right, to follow right
> Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence."

To my Indian readers I say "Take these words to heart and crown the blessings of British rule with a crown of thankfulness."

SYED SIRDAR ALI KHAN.

SARDAR'S MANSIONS,
BOMBAY, *November* 11, 1908.

"INDIA OF TO-DAY."

CHAPTER I.

THE SPREADING CANKER.

It is little more than twelve months since I published my brochure: "The Unrest in India, considered and discussed," and although events have moved so rapidly that there is much to add, there is no cause for me to retract anything I have said; rather have subsequent events justified me, and given clearer proof—if indeed it were needed—that there is spread throughout India a canker which is daily eating deeper and deeper into the body politic until at last it has become apparent to all but the wilfully blind—and there are many such—that remedies, drastic remedies, are essential. This has been accepted as an axiom in Indian politics for many years past; but there has been a decided disinclination to put the theory into practice. It was open to Government at the outset of these political excitements to deny that

the time has come when reforms should be instituted in the methods of ruling India. If that be the opinion of His Majesty's Advisors, then there is little to be hoped for. But it is inconceivable that such should be their opinion when they have openly and repeatedly affirmed that they are anxious to grant some, at least, of the legitimate desires which have been expressed throughout India. It must be taken, therefore, that there is a clear and definite intention to broaden the basis of the administration by extending the principle of popular control; that there is a real appreciation of the need of these reforms; and finally, judging by what has occurred, that no one sees quite clearly the road to that popularised system of administration which Great Britain wishes to establish. The East moves slowly, it is said, and it would seem that in this respect the British Government, as regards the East, has become imbued with the Oriental spirit. I must ask my readers to accept at the outset the undoubted fact that there is definite and growing unrest in India; that it is not a thing of to-day; and that it is not a movement which can be safely ignored. I should be failing in my duty were I to gloze over this; and I should be failing in my duty no less were I to

disguise the fact that a great part of the unrest has been caused by the British themselves. It is an acknowledged fact that British Rule has always been directed towards the improvement of the moral and material condition of the Natives of India; and it is impossible to conceive that this policy was lightly inaugurated, or without the fixed intention of granting Indians, in due season, a fair measure of local self-government. Indeed there have been many responsible utterances of late showing that British statesmen now recognise that the time must come when with the spread of education, and the training of the people in affairs, the government of India will be the most difficult problem of Empire—a problem made all the more difficult by the spread of democratic ideas in Europe and their diffusion in Asia. How a democratic Government is to govern a country where democratic Government is not only not understood, but is impossible, is a problem for the future, and with the imperfect knowledge we now possess it is unwise to do more than recognise that the difficulty must arise and must be solved some day. We cannot face it now because, in fact, it is doubtful whether there is any one capable of appreciating and foreseeing the changes

which, now in the womb of time, must come during the next ten years. The changes will be not only in England but in India, and not only in India but in the whole of Asia. It is always a futile act to attempt to pry into the future.

"Do thy duty that is best,
Leave unto the Lord the rest."

The words of an English poet may well be followed as the motto of the Government to-day. That which is necessary now is the result of what has been done; that which is done to-day must be the parent of the things of to-morrow. If wrong has been done in the past, then it is possible in some small degree to check the continuance of its evil effects. The past has borne fruit, and that fruit might have been expected to follow the sowing as surely as the night the day. It is for the British to pluck it and use it; not to let it fall to the ground and rot.

The question must immediately arise "How far are the demands voiced in India to-day legitimate?" To that question there are many answers. Perhaps that which is the truest is that some of them are right; but the method of advancing them is wrong. And yet wrong as the methods

be, they are partly the fault of recent actions. A fever possesses India and the doctor has failed in his duty, in that he has not noticed all the symptoms. The patient, long ill, has reached the period of convalescence; there is a renewed energy, and if I may pursue the simile further, the brain has become active with greater rapidity than the body. It is always so; long before the body has recovered its accustomed strength the mind regains its activity. The desire is there and it is the desire to use the body which conduces ultimately to complete recovery. The good doctor knows this and alters his treatment accordingly. Britain has been doctoring India for a century. She came at a time when the fever of dissension was at its height; she prescribed drastic remedies and succeeded in her object. But gradually the drastic remedies became unnecessary. The fever subsided and strengthening medicine became desirable. It was given in the shape of mass education and has been effective. How far would the doctor be right now in allowing the patient to throw aside his crutches?

The answer can only be given by looking around us. It is a regrettable fact that education in India

is not, on the whole, of a high standard. Knowledge is rarely sought for knowledge's sake. Rather is a limited supply of money scraped together to allow of a University training, not for what that training means in itself; but because the passing of examinations is a passport to Government service. Out of the hordes who every year appear for the B.A. examination, few of those who pass retain their knowledge long.

Fewer still continue their studies after leaving college. Indian education is permeated with the pernicious system of "cram" and it is unsafe to take the number of those who have obtained a degree as indicative of those who are really educated in the real sense of the word. Yet these half-educated few are chiefly responsible for the clamour which is disturbing India to-day, and who are often, quite erroneously, supposed to voice the opinion of the country as a whole. I shall have something to say later about the whole system of education from its initiation; but it is necessary to state at once that the unrest in India can be clearly traced to the defective system of education, or I should rather say, indiscriminate education, which has been adopted. It is not going too far to say that

the reforms in the Indian administration would have been granted in any event; and indeed that their advent has been retarded rather than hastened by the noisy agitation pursued in this country. That agitation has induced the impression that the hands of Government have been forced, and this unfortunate idea is gaining ground. The two anchors by which the British hold India are strength of character and implicit faith in their scrupulous sense of justice and honesty. But it is only right to point out that belief in them is weakening, and this is indeed an ugly sign. If once these beliefs pass entirely away, I fear it will be the last day of the British in India, and that day, too, would be India's ruin.

The methods of the agitators have been such as to raise the doubt whether it is safe to entrust to them even a tithe of the political power they ask. One has only to study the history of the world to see that wrong has always stood out more clearly than right. From its very nature wrong is obtrusive, and right, like truth, is apt to be hidden, unappreciated. This is exactly the case in India to-day. Those who are right, relying on the rectitude of their cause remain silent,

waiting, hoping. Those who are wrong, unworthy, know that no good can come to them personally from waiting and pursue the only course, blatant advertisement, by which they hope to force Government to give them those things which rightly belong to others. To strike the medial course is the task which lies before Government, and through such action alone is there any hope of restoring quietude and exterminating the moral disease which pervades the half-educated section of India to-day.

The pity of it is that the situation is complicated by many extraneous issues. As an example I would quote the manner in which the disaffected have perverted the meaning of swadeshi into a seditious battle cry. Of swadeshi in its true sense nothing too good can be said. In the best sense of the word it means "Protection," the protection of the spirit which shall afford home (*i.e.*, Indian) industries the support which will enable them to rise above the conditions which depress them. Who could find fault with such a desire? But swadeshi in the sense which has been attached to it by the Calcutta agitators means an entirely different thing. It means hatred of the British. From

boycott to anarchy, and finally to murder, were short steps. First was preached the doctrine of boycotting all British-made goods; immediately the boycott developed into an active crusade, where sticks and stones were used to coerce those, especially the Mahomedans, who were unwilling to join in the seditious propaganda. Almost as quickly meetings were held in Calcutta in which the burden of the speeches was avowedly "Drive the British into the sea." We ought really to be surprised that, despite these manifestations of disloyalty and anarchy, the Government have not hesitated to press forward the constitutional reforms we so ardently desire. This is conclusive proof of the genuine desire of our Rulers to move forward with the times, their sympathy with our legitimate aspirations, and their absolute honesty of purpose.

Unfortunately again those persons who have been loyal have been treated as a negligible quantity, and those persons who have opposed the Government have been elevated to the Bench, have received distinctions and decorations—in fact, every honour that is within the gift of the Government. Is this fair? It is, in fact, teaching a lesson to

the loyalists to become disloyal, when they have proof that *disloyalty pays*. How often is it said in India that there is no passport to the attention of Government but captious agitation? In this connection it is necessary to digress for a moment to consider the position of the great Mahomedan community. The All India Muslim League, recently founded to safeguard the neglected rights and privileges of the Mahomedans, has been showing signs of considerable activity. If the legitimate aspirations of the Mussalmans do not receive the sympathetic and attentive consideration which they deserve at the hands of the British Government, I apprehend the danger of discontent, leading the loyal Mahomedans to unconstitutional agitation, which may prove more formidable than the unrest which is now solely confined to the Hindus. The leaders of the Mahomedan community alone appreciate the unceasing efforts of the Congress Party to win them over to their side; and if, through inability to secure consideration for their rights in any other way, the Mahomedans are forced to join in the agitation pursued by the Hindus, the consequences upon the political situation can be more easily imagined than described.

The question is often asked, and asked rightly, how can self-government be given to those who have no self-control? Lord Cromer appreciated the whole difficulties that would have to be faced. I take the opportunity of quoting a passage from his article which appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* bearing on the subject. "In practice," he said, "no inconsiderable body of Englishmen would act upon the principle of India for the Anglo-Indians. The real issue which is now at stake is whether this is, for the future, to be the guiding principle of the British Government in India, or whether, as heretofore, the true interests of the natives of India are to be our first consideration. The decision lies in the first instance with the Government of India and Her Majesty's Government and ultimately with Parliament and public opinion in England. For my own part I think that any compromise with the extreme anti-native spirit which has recently developed itself amongst a section of the English community in India is neither possible nor desirable, and that any attempt to reverse the moderate and liberal policy of the past would be a great political error."

The policy referred to was nothing new, for it was but the practical expression of the Magna Charta of India. Let it not be forgotten that it is to Lord Cromer and General Sir Owen Tudor Burne that India owes much of the progress that was made when the first steps in local self-government were taken in this country. Lord Cromer's article goes on to say :—

"The conduct of the liberal and moderate policy will year by year become more difficult. No one who watched the signs of the times in India with even moderate care can doubt that we have entered upon a period of change. The spread of education, the increasing influence of the free press, the institution of legal free discretionary administration, the progress of railways and telegraphs, the easier communication with Europe and the more ready influx of European ideas are beginning to produce a marked effect upon the people. New ideas are springing up. New aspirations are being called forth. The power of public opinion is growing daily. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of Government, and especially of a despotic Government, is beset with difficulties of no light

kind. To move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still. The problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress, now superficial, as in many respects it is, so as to direct it into the right course and to derive from it all the benefits which its development is capable of conferring upon the country, and at the same time to prevent it from becoming, through blind indifference or stupefied repression, a source of serious political danger. It is only what ought to be expected by every thoughtful man that after fifty years of a free press and thirty years of expanding education, with European ideas flowing into the country on every side and old indigenous customs, habits and prejudices breaking down, changes should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires and the aims of the intelligent and educated men of the country, which no wise and cautious Government can afford to disregard, and to which they must gradually adapt their system of administration, if they do not wish to see it shattered by forces which they themselves called into being but which they have failed to guide and control."

The situation has changed little since the days, nearly twenty-four years ago, when those words

were written. The spirit of progress has spread and has, one may almost say, solidified. That which a quarter of a century ago was "raw and superficial" has become, if not perfect, at least immeasurably less imperfect. "To move too fast is dangerous but to lag behind is more dangerous still"; and then again "must gradually adapt their system of administration." Other times, other customs; what was neither too fast nor too slow twenty years ago is out of date now. Progress has not been made at a uniform rate, but with increased velocity, and the feeling has taken root—not only among the Extremists who put forward their impossible and dangerous demands, but among all educated and thinking classes of Indians—that the adaptation of the system of administration to changed conditions has, despite the acknowledged progress that has been made, been too gradual—that, in fact, Government has fallen into the error of lagging behind.

To acknowledge that is but to accept facts as they are, and a reasonable understanding of them will lead to an end of the present position. Lord Morley's celebrated phrase regarding the

House of Lords may well be applied to India. It is a case of "end or mend," for the seditious spirit is spreading rapidly and must be killed. Widespread as it is, however, I believe that it is possible once more to gather into the fold of loyalty all except the irreconcilables—those who have found a new remunerative profession in disloyalty and who must be repressed and crushed at all costs.

The propaganda of the Extremists is emphatically not for the good of India. With few exceptions none of those whose declamations have been echoed by the Bengali and the Mahratta Press have any constructive policy. The main idea of all their actions makes it impossible that they should have, for they work not for the good of India but for the benefit of themselves. They are not actuated by the "New Spirit" of the East, but by selfish motives; there can be no real comparison between India and Japan, often though the comparison has been made. Japan worked out her own salvation in a quarter of a century, unaided. By a union of the best of the East and the best of the West she won a foremost place among the nations of the world. Gra-

titude has been the mainspring of her progress, which never could have been accomplished by spurning the methods of the West. India has stood in a position infinitely more advantageous than that of Japan ; but how has she prospered ? For well over a century she has had peace, she has had all the advantages of a progressive rule, and yet the progress has been so small that she is as little fitted for self-rule as when the British first took up the reins of government. How are we to regard this fact ? Does it mean that nearly two centuries of British rule have been a dismal failure ? Not for a moment. Sir John Strachey, in his "India, its Administration and Progress," says, "This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India—that there is not and never was an India, or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious ; no Indian nation, no 'People of India,' of which we hear so much."

What, then, has British rule done ? It has done that which Napoleon failed to do in Europe. It has built up an Empire out of different communities, different religions, and where was once

constant disorder is now permanent peace—but permanent only so long as the British remain. That is the answer to the Extremists. So soon as their desire is granted, so soon as British rule is taken away, just so soon will India be plunged into chaos and disorder. Let there be no misunderstanding on this point; history will repeat itself.

Let India be given administrative reform, through an extension of the popular principle. Let India be advanced towards local self-government, for steps in this direction are due. But let us never forget that the first and essential condition to the development of India is the maintenance of British rule. It is not exaggerating to say that in the present political condition of the country, swaraj would mean savagery: it would mean a return to the outer darkness from which the advent of the British rescued this country and set it on the road to the immense developments of the past fifty years. We want the administration brought into closer touch with the people through the extension of the popular principle; we want to see for every Indian a career

commensurate with his abilities opened in this country ; but whilst we are exigent in pressing these considerations upon the attention of British statesman, we do so in the full consciousness that only under the protecting ægis of Great Britain can the goal we have in view be attained.



CHAPTER II.

INDIAN FINANCE—THE "DRAIN" THEORY.

It has been reiterated, with almost nauseating frequency, that Great Britain has impoverished India and there are many who profess to be prepared to prove that statement. We all know how easy it is to juggle with figures. Mr. Digby, for instance, in his book "Prosperous British India!" set out to prove that the average income of a native of India in 1850 was two annas, in 1880 one and-a-half annas and in 1900 three quarters or an anna. To arrive at such—or any other figures—is no very difficult matter, if one so desires; but having done so, the statistician must not be surprised if the ordinary individual, using his common sense, turns round and shows that the whole calculation is nonsense. How can anyone be expected to believe such statistical absurdities? It is well known that many Indians have huge fortunes with incomes of corresponding size. It follows, therefore, that if these figures were correct, an enormous proportion of the population would be in a state of permanent starvation—which is absurd. No one

would wish for a single instant to suggest that the Indian ryot is not extremely poor. But there are official figures, compiled with the greatest care and on the best authority, to show that far from his lot becoming worse, it is growing better. It is a safe test to take the public debt in order to see how a country's prosperity really stands. In 1900 the permanent public debt of India amounted to £205,300,000, of which the ordinary debt was £69,996,000 and the Public Works debt £135,327,000. Fifty years earlier, or in 1857 to be exact, the public debt was about fifty-one millions ; but this was increased by fifty-two millions, owing to the cost of suppressing the mutiny—an expenditure which India certainly brought upon herself, and for which the British administration cannot be blamed. There were slight increases in other directions, so that in 1862 the total debt was ninety-seven millions. It is thus seen that from 1862 to 1900 there was an increase of £108,000,000. If one studies the history of the debt, however, it is soon found that it is different from those of all nations. Since 1862 the ordinary debt has not only been reduced by about twenty-seven millions, but there has been a large profit on the Public Works Debt, which has thus performed

the double duty of providing railways and irrigation canals and at the same time of relieving the ordinary sources of taxation. And this has been accomplished despite a great depreciation in the bullion value of the rupee, which dislocated the finances; a series of severe famines which absorbed nearly twenty-five millions on protective works; and over twelve millions on wars with the frontier tribes, consequent on the settlement of disputes. The case of the railways in India, and the methods by which Government secures the ultimate ownership of all the lines by redeeming capital out of revenue, is well known. The profits on the working of the railways of India are already large, and are certain steadily to increase in future, although there may be occasional set-backs owing to bad seasons or international cycles of bad trade. The railway profits, which go to swell the general exchequer, also promise to grow in value by a policy of prudent expansion, to meet the needs of the country and as funds are available. There is no part of the financial policy of the Government of India which has been so foolishly criticised as that dealing with railways. It is true, of course, that owing to the depreciation

of the rupee the Government guarantee on the capital borrowed abroad in the early stage of railway development in India made heavy demands upon the exchequer, and these were increased by the unremunerative expenditure upon strategic lines. But these sacrifices were necessary in order to secure that railway expansion without which no progress whatsoever could be made with the economic development of the country. Now the old contracts have fallen in and the frontier lines in many cases have been made paying properties through the extension of irrigation, the Indian railways are a splendid national property, for which India certainly has not paid too dearly, and one of yearly increasing value. This is viewing railway development in its narrowest aspect. Everyone who has even a nodding acquaintance with industrial economics knows that cheap and efficient transport is the life blood of industrial and commercial development. But for the railway system India never could have marched as far along the road of industrial progress as she has, and the task of relieving famine, which must be periodical in a country seventy per cent. of whose people are dependent upon agriculture, and a large portion live in the zone of uncertain

rainfall, would have been overwhelming. No part of the policy of Britain in India is so immune to criticism as that which deals with railways: none has been the target for so much ignorant attack. The Public Works Debt is not a charge on the funds, but a source of revenue, and the ordinary debt is considerably less than the revenue of a single year.

Where then is the "drain" on India to be found? Irrigation works of a Lilliputian character were constructed in pre-British days; but there never was any attempt to deal with India as a whole, and it would be difficult to find any instance in other parts of the world where so much genius and forethought have been displayed in fighting against natural calamities. Up to 1901 the sum expended on irrigation works amounted to £28,246,000 and that sum has now been greatly increased. The result of the works has been largely to reduce the ravages of scarcity, and frequently to turn the desert into a fertile plain. If it be a "drain" to borrow money in London at three and-a-half per cent., and to utilise it for the construction of irrigation works in India which yield a profit of seven and-a-half per cent., besides bringing the deserts in and enor-

mously increasing the productive capacity of the country, then in truth it may be said that the interest upon the foreign loans is a "drain." But there is not a country in the world which would not be delighted to have a "drain" of this character. Canada, the United States and South America borrow all the money they can draw from Europe on this basis, only they have to pay more for it: and there is not a practical economist who would not laugh at the idea that interest on money borrowed for substantial productive works to be carried out in India is in any sense a drain upon the resources of this country.

But in truth the advocates of the now completely discredited "drain" theory forget that canals and railways are part of a scientific plan to increase the resources of India and to minimise the effects of famine. The whole question has been reduced to a science, dating from 1874, when Lord Northbrook was Viceroy. It was he who insisted on the necessity of a definite system of fighting famine when he said, "Whatever means we may take to obviate or mitigate them, it must, under present circumstances, be looked upon as inevitable that famines will, from time to time, occur." As the outcome of this principle, he laid

down that to meet famines merely by grants would be financially ruinous, that it was necessary to set apart in prosperous times a substantial surplus of revenue over expenditure, and that if the surplus were devoted to the reduction of the debt incurred for the construction of productive works, there would be no objection, in the event of famine, to borrowing to the full extent to which the debt had been reduced or prevented.

This broad principle was subsequently crystallised during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, under the direction of Sir John Strachey, whose description of the whole principle is so clear and authoritative that I cannot do better than quote it in his own words.

"Between 1873 and 1878 the actual expenditure on the relief of famine, including remissions of land revenue, was more than 160,000,000 rupees. This was a period of exceptional disaster, and it was concluded that it might safely be assumed that the average annual charge for famine was not likely to exceed 15,000,000 rupees. It was determined, therefore, that, in addition to that necessary margin of revenue over expenditure which a prudent administration always desires to maintain, a surplus of 15,000,000 rupees must

every year be provided on account of famine relief alone and that this sum, when the country was free from famine, must regularly be devoted to the discharge of debt or to the prevention of debt which would otherwise have been incurred for the construction of railways and canals. The practical result of such a plan would be to store up in times of prosperity revenues by means of which, when famine occurred, it would be possible to meet the inevitable requirements of the future and the heavy obligations of the State. If, for example, this policy were followed for a period of ten years in which there was no famine, debt, at the end of that time, would have been reduced or prevented to the extent of 150,000,000 rupees; and if serious famine then occurred, the same amount might be borrowed for its relief without placing the country in a worse position financially than that of ten years before.

"The original scheme was subsequently modified, and it was determined that a portion of the sum set aside every year as an insurance against famine might be directly expended on the construction of railways and canals required for the protection of districts specially liable to drought and consequent scarcity.

"This policy of insurance against famine was simple in its nature, but it has been constantly misunderstood and persistently misrepresented. It has often been supposed that a separate fund was constituted into which certain revenues were to be paid, and which could only be drawn upon for a specified purpose. No such unreasonable and impracticable notion was ever entertained, and every idea of the kind was from the first repudiated by the Government and by myself—the author of the original scheme. The 'Famine Insurance Fund,' of which people have talked, never existed. The intention was nothing more than the annual application of surplus revenue to the extent of 15,000,000 rupees to the purposes I have described. The sum now allotted annually is £1,000,000. Although, in some years, financial pressure has made it impossible to make the full annual grant under the Famine Insurance Scheme, the system has been substantially maintained. The sum expended from revenue under the head of Famine Relief and Insurance, either on the actual relief of distress or on protective irrigation works and railways, or on the reduction of the debt, from the time when the scheme came into operation up to the end

of 1900-01, exceeded £23,000,000; of this more than one-half was spent on the actual relief of famine."

I have thought it well to reproduce this statement, because it is a conclusive and irrefutable answer to the charge, so often brought by irresponsible malcontents against the Government, that *it is the cause of famine.*

Another charge frequently laid against Government is that over-assessment of the land revenue is a general and widespread source of poverty and indebtedness in India, and is a contributory cause of famine. Local taxation as a whole is, perhaps, susceptible of some redistribution; but nowhere is it either immoderate or burdensome. In 1902 were published "Papers regarding the Land Revenue System of British India," to which was appended a Resolution which concluded as follows :—

"In thus defining their policy, the Government of India would not desire to claim for the land revenue system of British India an exactitude or a freedom from blemish to which it cannot pretend. Historically it owes its immediate origin to practice inherited from the most decadent

period of native rule, and its form to changes made slowly and not without mistakes by men who were aliens to the country, and could only with difficulty, and by slow degrees, assimilate the requirements or enter into the feelings of the people. Where habit and precedent count for more than wisdom, there has been need for caution in reform ; and logical completeness or simplicity could not be expected of a system, born amid such surroundings, applied to such manifold conditions and to so heterogeneous a population, and subject in the various stages of its development to considerations of practical expediency rather than of abstract symmetry or scientific perfection. Assessments cannot be dictated by the theorist in his study ; they elude dogmatic treatment and can only be safely worked out by the Settlement Officer in the village and on the fields. While they admit of statistical analysis, they are liable to be hampered by premature statistical definition. The true function of Government is to lay down broad and generous principles for the guidance of its officers with becoming regard to the traditions of the province and the circumstances of the locality, and to prescribe moderation in enhancement

and sympathy in collection. Above all, it is its duty to exercise discrimination in the choice of the agents whom it employs for this most critical and responsible of tasks. The Governor-General in Council acknowledges with gratitude the services that have been rendered to Government in this respect by a long line of devoted and capable officers, and he believes that the existing system, if pursued upon the lines that have been indicated, is both well suited to the present conditions of the country and compatible with its future development, and that the revenue which it provides and which is more lenient in its incidence than at any previous stage of Indian history, is capable of being levied from the people with surprisingly little hardship and without discontent."

That contention is fully justified by the statistics showing the comparatively small number of coercive processes which have to be issued in order to call in the land revenue in ordinary years. Nor must we forget that another beneficent change has been made which very materially reduces the pressure of the land revenue upon the cultivator. A regular system of suspensions and remissions of revenue, in bad years

has been inaugurated throughout the whole country. A large portion of India lies within the region of uncertain rainfall. As long as the bulk of the people are dependent upon the soil for their livelihood, periodical famines must follow the periodical failures of the rains. Even Government cannot control the elements, and although it may break the shock of famine by increasing irrigation works, and reducing the dependence of the population upon the land through the encouragement of industries, for many years to come large parts of India will be subject to occasional famine. But under the new system, the moment famine is declared, by an automatic process the collection of the revenue is suspended, and that proportion of it which evidently cannot be collected is remitted. Let me illustrate the point by the case of the grave famine in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1907. The failure of the rains was so severe that the loss to the Province is estimated at the food-supply of the people for five months and eight million pounds sterling in cash. But the moment these conditions declared themselves the automatic process of lightening the dues on the soil was put in operation, and in the

end half a million sterling of the dues was swept away and the collection of another six hundred thousand pounds was deferred until a more favourable season. A careful analysis of the position will show that the land revenue in no case presses severely upon the cultivator in normal years: in abnormal years, when the crop fails, his dues are at once materially lightened.

The fact remains, however, that there is now relatively more poverty in India than fifty years ago. This may be put down to the methods of Government; but surely it must be counted unto it for righteousness? With the improvement of the standard of living in India due to the influence of civilisation, the cost of living has necessarily increased. That is the inevitable result of what has been done in the past, and it affects England as much as India, and India no more than the rest of the world. Many Indians are for ever turning their eyes to Japan. Let us take the Island Kingdom as a case in point. The cost of living in Japan is going up at such a tremendous pace that, if it continues at the present rate, in ten years it will have reached the poor European standard. It is an economic law, which Socialists will never be able to overcome, that the same

factors which bring the accumulation of wealth must also bring poverty, and the converse. Those who are loudest in denouncing Government as the cause of the increase of the poverty-stricken among the population of India are the very people who would increase the evil by forcing on reforms for which the country is not ready. It is analogous to the "cram" system of education, and certainly what is obviously bad for a community which is fairly, though not thoroughly, representative of all classes, must be bad for the country as a whole. India has not yet learned sufficiently to understand the problem of working out her own salvation, and were the Extremists to succeed in their pernicious intentions the evil would necessarily become apparent far more rapidly than has been the case with education.

I have endeavoured, and I think succeeded, in showing, in the foregoing summary of a portion of the financial administration of India, that unjustifiable charges have been made, and that the policy pursued has not only been theoretically sound, but has been beneficent, and until some better system of government can be shown any change must be undesirable.

CHAPTER III.

THE GENESIS OF UNREST.

In the foregoing chapter mention has been made of the fact that the educational system of India is largely, if not entirely, responsible for the state of affairs in the country to-day. In order to appreciate how far this is so, I propose briefly to recount the history of education in this country.

In its modern sense education in India may be said to have begun with the founding of the first college in Bengal by Warren Hastings in 1782. It was maintained largely out of his private purse, and it was, curiously enough, devised on lines which are almost identical with ideas which are now being adopted by the Government of India as new. Its object was the encouragement of Arabic-Persian literature and Mahomedan theology, and was more particularly intended "to qualify the Mahomedans of Bengal for the public service, chiefly in the Courts of Justice, and to enable them to compete on more equal terms with the Hindus for employment under Government."

Unfortunately Mahomedans have for a long time held aloof from Western learning, and when in 1791 another college was founded at Benares "to cultivate the laws, literature and religion of the Hindus and specially to supply qualified Hindu assistants to European Judges" the success of the latter college was infinitely greater than that of Warren Hastings. The time was too close to the days when India had lived by the sword, and the Hindu who had fared worst grasped eagerly at the new dispensation, from which the Mahomedan, erstwhile ruler and conqueror, held aloof. The two colleges, however, were the foundation of the educational system of India. Other colleges were founded chiefly, if not entirely, for Hindus. Soon it became apparent that all opportunities for acquiring education were eagerly seized, and it became necessary to lay down a definite line of progress. The matter of greatest moment to be decided was in what direction that progress was to be expected. On the one side were advocates of close attention to the study and improvement of indigenous Oriental learning, the study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian; on the other hand was the party which maintained that true learning could only

be imparted through the medium of English. I may be forgiven for quoting here from Lord Macaulay's minute of 1835, which laid down once and for all the policy to be adopted.

"The question before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language (English), we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared with our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier—astronomy which would move laughter in the girls at an English boarding school—history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long—and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Trenchant criticism of Indian thought if you will; but proved wrong long since if it is to be accepted as a definite theory on which to base a system of education for a country such as this.

At last Government has recognised that it is necessary to look back and to pick up the threads which have been lost. But three-quarters of a century have been lost, and the ground cannot be regained in a day. The whole fault of the Indian educational system lies in the fact that it is exotic and is devoid of the foundation of morality which alone can make any system of education effective. In this respect it was a bad day for India when Lord Macaulay came to direct its future. Several years before the minute which I have quoted was issued Mountstuart Elphinstone laid down the policy which should have been followed. He was directly opposed to the theory enunciated by Macaulay, and his minute of eleven years before reads almost like a prophetic denunciation of what was to follow.

"Sanskrit poetry," he wrote in a minute which deplored the drying up of sources of native talent, which meant that the indigenous learning of the country was being lost, "Sanskrit poetry has called forth the enthusiastic admiration of no mean judges among ourselves. Even without the example and assistance of a more civilised nation, the science possessed by every people is gradually superseded by their

own discoveries as they advance in knowledge and their early works fall into disuse and oblivion. But it is otherwise with their poetry. The standard works maintain their reputation undiminished in every age, they form the models of composition and the fountains of classical language, and the writers of the rudest ages are those who contribute the most to the delight and refinement of the most improved of their posterity. A class of men was formerly maintained whose time was devoted to the cultivation of their understanding; their learning may have been obscure and degenerate, but still it bore some affinity to real science into which it might in time have been improved. They were not, perhaps, much inferior to those works amongst whom the seeds of European learning were long kept alive; and their extinction, if it did not occasion the loss of much present wisdom, would have cut off all hope for the future."

Continuing on the practical methods to be employed, he said: "When once the college had become an established place of resort for Brahmans, it would be easy to introduce, by degrees, improvements into the system of education and thus render the institution a powerful instrument

for the diffusion of civilisation. Some such alterations must be the fruit of time and cannot be adopted until we have instruments better fitted to impart instruction, as well as auditors better prepared to receive it. At no time, however, could I wish that the purely Hindu part of the course should be wholly abandoned. It would surely be a preposterous way of adding to the intellectual treasuries of a nation to begin by the destruction of its indigenous literature, and I cannot but think that the future attainments of the natives will be increased in extent as well as in variety by being, as it were, engrafted on their own previous knowledge and imbued with their own original and peculiar character."

It is a simple matter to look back upon Macaulay's inaccuracies and then to find fault with what he did in his administrative capacity. But had Lord Macaulay's self-complacency been less he might have fallen into fewer errors. He talks, for instance, of astronomy "which would move laughter in the girls of an English boarding school." One is constrained to wonder whether this pedagogue had one-thousandth part of the knowledge of the celebrated "Sowae" Jai Singh, who, in the first years of the seventeenth century,

carried out the reformation of the Hindu Calendar, the man whose knowledge of astronomy ranked equal in all things with that of his contemporaries. He it was who constructed a series of astronomical tables which subsequently he had compared with the Portuguese tables of De la Hire. This is how Tod translates his own account of the comparison.

"On examining and comparing the calculation of these tables with actual observations, it appeared there was an error in the former, in assigning the moon's place, of half a degree. Although the error in the other planets was not so great, yet the times of solar and lunar eclipses, he found (Jai Singh always wrote of himself in the third person) to come out later or earlier than the truth by the fourth part of a ghurry or fifteen puls (*i.e.*, six minutes of time)." In 1729 at Delhi he determined the obliquity of the ecliptic to be 23° 28', which is within 28" of what Godwin determined it in the following year. Had Lord Macaulay known these facts and had he seen the instruments at Jaipur and Delhi with which the observations were made, he might have been more cautious in his strictures on things of which he was obviously ignorant.

The course laid down by Mountstuart Elphinstone was far the simpler. He proposed to take the indigenous plant, to foster it and improve it. He, as much as Macaulay, realised the importance of bringing the knowledge of the West into the service of the East, but while the one realised that the child is father of the man, the other wished to work upon a clean slate. Unfortunately he succeeded, and the house which he built upon sand is tottering to-day. *Ex nihilo, nihil fit* : What might, what would have been, a source of strength to the country has proved that it can but bear results as empty as its beginning.

Devoid of a foundation and permeating essence of morality, Indian education fails entirely to achieve the ends for which all education is intended. At the time Lord Macaulay laid down his educational code attention was only paid to higher education. Primary education was neglected on the ground that education would filter downward. It is difficult to imagine anything more absurd. Even granting—which no one does—that the Bengali Babu is better because he learns Western ideas parrot-wise, how is his knowledge to benefit the ryot, the artisan, or the small landlord who is ignorant even of a knowledge o his

own land? In the large cities of India to-day the European may be excused if he fails to notice the niceties of caste. In the days of Macaulay it was different. He could not have escaped realising how impossible is the downward filtration theory. Let me turn to the figures of the census of 1901 to see how far the theory has met with success in practice. There was then a total population of 294,360,000, of whom 149,951,000 were males and 144,409,000 were females; out of these 134,752,000 males and 142,976 females were illiterate or, in other words, about ninety per cent. of the male and about ninety-nine per cent. of the female population. But if the figures be subjected to closer examination it will be seen how utterly the present system of education has failed. More than half of the whole number returned as literate are found in a few classes which comprise less than twenty per cent. of the population. As a good instance one may take the Brahmans who, while only five per cent. of the total population, contributed seventeen per cent. of the literate classes and twenty per cent. of those knowing English. In his general report on the Castes of India Mr. Baines deals trenchantly with the absurd theory of downward filtration: "The

second influence," he says, after pointing out that the huge bulk of the population is agricultural, which, in all countries, is least receptive of education, "the second influence antagonistic to a more general spread of literacy is the long continued existence of a hereditary class whose object it has been to maintain their own monopoly of all book-learning as the chief buttress of their social supremacy. Sacerdotalism knows that it can reign over none but an ignorant populace. The opposition of the Brahman to the rise of the writer castes has been already mentioned, and the repugnance of both, in the present day, to the diffusion of learning amongst the masses can only be appreciated after long experience. It is true that the recognition by the British Government of the virtue and necessity of primary education has met with some response on the part of the literary castes, but it is chiefly in the direction of academic utterances which cannot, in the circumstances, be well avoided. It is welcomed, too, in its capacity of affording the means of livelihood to many of these castes, as they have to be engaged as teachers and are bound accordingly to work up to the State standard of efficient tuition. The real interests of the

castes in question is centred on secondary education of which they, almost exclusively, are in a position to reap the advantage."

It was hoped that the establishment of Universities in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857 would materially alter the course of education in India, but despite what may be said in official reports the Indian Universities are a dismal failure. The proportion of students who go beyond the entrance examination is small, and the number who obtain degrees is smaller still. In his report on the census of 1891 Mr. Baines said on this matter : " The main points brought out appear to be first, the insignificant number of pupils that carry instruction beyond the rudiments; secondly the remarkably unprepared state in which the minute remainder appear for matriculation ; and lastly the relatively infinitesimal number that obtain a University degree."

Now what is the value of the University degree ? A few months ago a deputation of about twenty students waited on the Editor of one of the Bombay newspapers and asked that he should agitate for a reduction, a large reduction, of the standard demanded at the examination. The question was asked what good could be obtained by such a

course and the reply came promptly—"We shall all be able then to become B. A's." Was ever a mere preposterous idea put forward? There is no love of learning, no desire for knowledge: education is pursued simply for the right to put the letters B.A. after their names, a power which is rarely worth more than twenty, and often as little as fifteen rupees a month. It must be seen that, however greatly the Government may think of the University courses, the employers of clerical labour appreciate them at their true value.

What is the result? The towns are flooded with half-educated youths insufficiently trained for the higher walks of life, unfitted by their brief course of training for such walks as they can legitimately tread. Should we wonder, then, that discontent is rife among them? Was it not from such a state of affairs as this that the Labour Party in England arose, built up by those who possessed that "dangerous thing" a little knowledge? I hold it definitely and conclusively proved to all who care to study Indian education that its inefficiency is the cause of the unrest of to-day. In 1883 the Indian Education Commission laid down that "the college of to-day aims at giving

an education that shall fit its recipient to take an honourable share in the administration of the country or to enter with good hope of success the various liberal professions now expanding in vigorous growth." But to do this the University course must be made harder, not less difficult; some attempt should be made to stamp out the system of "cram" by giving greater weight to general knowledge and framing the examinations accordingly. At a recent meeting of the Bombay University Senate a significant remark was made by a gentleman largely responsible for the conduct of scientific education. "The system of teaching science in this Presidency," he said, "is a farce." Is it worth while to continue such methods? Would it not be infinitely better to recognise that indiscriminate secondary education is far more prone to failure than is primary. The cost of secondary education in India is enormous, while little is spent on primary instruction. If the downward filtration theory were abandoned, if a fresh start were made spreading primary education free, at least to the poor, the result, even if it took some years to achieve, would necessarily be a healthier competition founded on a broader basis to which would ultimately apply "the survival of

the fittest," from which would come a standard of secondary education worthy of the name. But so long as the Universities turn out huge batches of half-educated students, so long will there be an ever-growing class of malcontents.

It is unfortunately only too true that education has spread less among Mahomedans than among Hindus, and it is significant in the face of this that sedition is almost unknown among them. The difference between the attitude of the two communities is very marked; but it is a mistaken idea that education finds no favour with the Moslem community. Rather should it be said that while Hindus acquire a smattering of knowledge for the sake of the material benefits that will accrue, the Mahomedan seeks knowledge for knowledge sake and no educational code has been able to stamp out the desire to maintain the knowledge of the sacred things which are the essence of his life. This is strikingly shown in the report of the Indian Education Commission, of which no less an eminent person than Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk was a member :—

"Apart from the social and historical condition of the Mahomedan community in India, there are causes of a strictly educational character which

heavily weigh it in the race of life. The teaching of the mosque must precede the lessons of the school. The one object of a young Hindu is to obtain an education which will fit him for an official or a professional career. But before the young Mahomedan is allowed to turn his thoughts to similar instruction he must commonly pass some years in going through a course of sacred learning. The Mahomedan boy, therefore, enters school later than the Hindu. In the second place, he very often leaves school at an earlier age. The Mahomedan parent belonging to the better classes is usually poorer than the Hindu parent in a corresponding social position. He cannot afford to give his son a complete education. In the third place, irrespectively of his worldly means the Mahomedan parent often chooses for his son, while at school, an education which will secure for him an honoured place among the learned of his own community, rather than one that will command success in the modern professions or in official life. The years which the young Hindu gives to English and Mathematics in a public school, the young Mahomedan devotes in a Madrasa to Arabic, and the law and theology of Islam. When such an education is completed, it is to the

vocation of a man of learning rather than to the more profitable professions that the thoughts of a promising Mahomedan youth naturally turn."

The speculation is forced upon one, in face of this : what would have been the result had Lord Macaulay never promulgated his pernicious theory, with all its naccuracies, and had the native of India, as a whole, been educated on the foundation of sound knowledge of the art, literature and history of his own country rather than on a smattering of things foreign to him ? The attitude of the Mahomedan community to-day seems to give the answer.

In my book " Lord Curzon's Administration of India " (1905) I referred at length to the great educational problem tackled by him, and in order to point out how complete was his grasp of the subject, how deeply he went into it, and how sound was his policy in this direction, I quoted as follows from his speech delivered on September 20th of that year to the Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction of India. I do not think I can add anything to that, nor do better than reproduce a few salient passages from Lord Curzon's speech :—

" Gentlemen, when I came to India, Educational Reform loomed before me as one of those

objects which, from such knowledge of India as I possessed, appeared to deserve a prominent place in any programme of administrative reconstruction. What was the state of affairs that we had to redress? I will try to summarise it. As regards primary or elementary education of the children of the masses in the vernaculars, the figures which appeared in the Resolution were sufficiently significant. Four out of every five Indian villages were found to be without a school; three out of every four Indian boys grew up without education, only one Indian girl in every forty attended any kind of school. These figures are, of course, less appalling in a continent of the size, the vast population, the national characteristics and the present state of advancement of India than they would be in any western country, but they are important as illustrating, if not the inadequacy of past efforts, at any rate the immensity of the field that remains to be conquered. We found primary education suffering from divergencies of views as to its elementary functions and courses, and languishing nearly everywhere for want of funds. In secondary education, we found schools receiving the privilege of

recognition upon mostly inadequate and untrained and incompetent teachers, imparting a course of instruction devoid of life to pupils subjected to a pressure of examinations that encroached upon them out of school hours, and was already beginning to sap the brain power as well as the physical strength of the rising generation. Inferior teaching in secondary schools further has this deleterious effect,—that it reacts upon college work and affects the whole course of University instruction, of which it is the basis and starting point. But in higher education the position was still worse, for here it was not a question so much of a blank sheet in the education of the community as a page scribbled over with all sorts of writings, some of it well formed and good, but much of it distorted and wrong. We found in some of the affiliated colleges a low standard of teaching and a lower of learning, ill-paid and insufficient teachers, pupils crowded together in insanitary buildings, the cutting down of fees in the interests of an evil commercial competition, and management on unsound principles. Finally coming to the Universities, we found courses of study and a system of tests which were lowering the quality

while steadily increasing the volume of the human output; students driven like sheep from lecture-room to lecture-room and examination to examination, text-books badly chosen, degrees pursued for their commercial value, the Senates with over-swollen numbers selected on almost every principle but that of educational fitness, the Syndicates devoid of statutory powers—a huge system of active but often misdirected effort, over which, like some evil phantom, seemed to hover the monstrous and maleficent spirit of 'Cram.'

"What I think we may claim to have effected has been the following. In primary education, we have realised that improvement means money. We have laid down that primary education must be a leading charge on provincial revenues, and in order to supply the requisite impetus we gave in our last budget a very large permanent annual grant of 35 lakhs to be devoted to that purpose alone. In secondary education the faults were largely the same, and the remedies must be the same also. More teachers are the first desideratum; more competent teachers the second; more inspectors the third. The increase that we have everywhere effected in the inspecting staff is remarkable. From this we pass on

to the development of the commercial and industrial sides of these schools as against the purely literary, since there are thousands of boys in them who must look to their education to provide them with a practical livelihood rather than to lead them to a degree; and above all, to the reduction of examinations. That is the keynote everywhere. When we come to higher education, our policy, though based on identical principles, assumes a wider scope, and has, I hope, already affected an even more drastic change. There is a class of education which deserves and has attracted our particular attention, namely, that which is intended to qualify its recipients for the professional occupations of Indian life. The Agricultural College at Pusa, which is intended to be the parent of similar institutions in every other province, each equipped with a skilled staff and adequate funds, has been specially devised to provide at the same time a thorough training in all branches of agriculture, science and practical instruction in State management and farm work. These institutions will turn out a body of young men who will spread themselves throughout India, carrying into the management of States

and estates, into private enterprise and into Government employ, the trained faculties with which the College courses will have supplied them. There remains the subject of technical education which has occupied an immense amount of our attention. As is generally known, we have instituted a number of technical scholarships of £150 each for Indian students in Europe and America, but strange as it may seem, it has not invariably been easy at first to find the candidates qualified to fill them.

Similarly with industrial schools, which we have been anxious to start on a large scale for the practical encouragement of local industries, there is the widest diversity of opinion as to the principles and the type, for it must be remembered that although India is a country with strong traditions of industrial skill and excellence, with clever artisans, and with an extant machinery of trade guilds and apprentices, these are constituted upon a caste basis which does not readily admit of expansion, while the industries themselves are as a rule localised and small, rendering co-ordination difficult. We are, however, about to make an experiment on a large scale in Bombay and Bengal, and I have every hope that upon the

labours and researches of the past few years posterity will be able to build."

Commenting on this speech I then wrote :—

"No doubt there are and will be opponents of these drastic reforms, but impartial and uninterested persons will admit that reform was urgently needed, and that those which have been introduced after lengthened enquiry and full deliberation are those which are intended to benefit the classes who need it most. Of course, they will be opposed, but no one can deny that the object of Lord Curzon's educational policy was to benefit the great mass of the people and the country generally. Unfortunately Lord Curzon will not be here to carry it into full effect, and its ultimate success or failure remains therefore in the womb of the future."

To that I have nothing to add; my views have undergone no change within these three years. Lord Curzon's policy has not even been altered by the Liberal Government of His Excellency Lord Minto, but has been adhered to in every respect. The best test of its excellence is that a statesman of Lord Morley's standing has considered it unnecessary to formulate any change in the educational policy of the Government of India.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME BARRIERS TO SWARAJ.

Although in its best sense swaraj means local self-government, just as swadeshi means home industrial advancement, yet it is impossible any longer to regard either as a legitimate watchword. Swadeshi has become synonymous with boycott, and to the largest portion of the community swaraj means nothing less than "Down with the British." It is unnecessary, I think, to spend any time in denouncing both these doctrines. The pernicious intention of their advocates is so obvious that, to any thinking man, they defeat their own ends. Boycott or swadeshi, call it which you will, has accomplished neither its real nor its pretended intention. Rather has it been a cause of poverty in India. Lord Minto in one of his earliest speeches in India promised the true swadeshi movement the full sympathy of Government. But he postulated that it must be a real swadeshi movement, carried on with the sole intention of benefiting such Indian industries as are in existence, and of building up new ones wherever possible. That promise has been made good.

Genuine swadeshists like Messrs. Tata & Sons have received the most cordial co-operation of Government and its officers in promoting their great iron and steel enterprise in the Central Provinces. But whilst the true swadeshi was promised, and has received, all the support which could be given by Government, the swadeshi which means boycott, hatred of the British and a seditious attempt to ruin British prestige, was promised not only firm but rigorous repression. I can only regret that the threat has not yet been carried fully into effect; although, it must be admitted, events have moved so rapidly in the last few months that the difficulties have not been few. For what are those men, who have been sent to gaol for political offences, suffering? The answer is plainly written for all who care to read; they have been punished for pushing a baleful propaganda which would plunge the country into confusion and set back the hands of progress for a generation. Let us suppose for a moment that England were to withdraw from India. What would be the result? Is any sane person so foolish as to suppose that India is strong enough to stand alone? Or so monstrously ignorant as to imagine that the world has grown so altruistic

that the lust of conquest in the armed nations of the world is dead? What nonsense! The moment Turkey lapsed into weakness three provinces and a railway were torn from her and the hand of the spoilers was stayed only by dread of the Sea Power of England. Has Russia glutted her ambitions for a move towards the warm water? Will Japan be for ever content with the little patch of continental Asia contained in Korea? Has Germany mastered the forces which drag her steadily Eastward! Eastward? Everyone capable of thought knows that the moment the protecting hand of Great Britain was removed India would become the target for these unleashed ambitions, and that her tremendous seabord makes her extraordinarily susceptible to attack.

So much for the foreign peril. What of the internal menace? Much talk has there been of the "Unity of India" being the result of the agitation of the last few years. Surely no thinking man believes that a United India is yet a possibility! If India be not united in peace how can she be in war, and autonomy must inevitably mean war, political war in the first place, engendering racial hatred, and then real war to follow—who knows? Again I state that there cannot be a

feeling of real unity in India, at least for another fifty years to come. The very word has at present no significance and it never had; and to prove it one has but to look around to see that despite the restraining hand of the British Government, Hindu and Mahomedan watch each other even to-day with mistrust. It will be necessary to refer later to the treatment of Mahomedans in any scheme for extending local self-government; but let me at once state that while under existing conditions Mahomedans have had inadequate representation on local Boards and other bodies, Mahomedan interests when not ignored have been openly flouted. Yet there is talk of unity ! !

When the Mahomedan deputation waited on the Viceroy in 1906 they represented their legitimate grievances and they received certain assurances in reply. What was the effect of this on the rabid Hindu and Congress Press. They screamed until they were hoarse, that Government were unduly favouring the Mahomedans, and were now trying to play off the Mahomedans against the Hindus, in order to checkmate the heroic attempts of the latter community to save India from further plunder by the British !

This much about the general attitude of the Hindus. What has happened in Bengal? Ever since the partition of Bengal (which was an absolutely necessary administrative measure) swadeshi, boycott, sedition, bomb-making, anarchy, murder, have suddenly come into being! The question which naturally arises is, why? The answer is simpler still—as I have pointed out elsewhere—the monopoly accruing from their numerical predominance in Bengal as a whole has been snatched from the Bengalis in the new Province where they are in a minority, and the Mahomedans, who form 66 per cent. of the population in Eastern Bengal, are, under the administrative adjustment, by virtue of their numbers, entitled to a larger voice in local matters, and have been rescued from a position of virtual subjection to the minority of Bengalis. This the Bengalis, who are Hindus of course, resent. All the hue and cry which has been raised since the Partition, and all the "patriotic" movements which have been so suddenly started, have nothing whatsoever to do with the Motherland or with the welfare of India. They have no nobler purpose than the maintenance of a class predominance in a province wherein the Hindus are in a distinct minority.

As regards the Western Presidency, with which I am more familiar, a study of the position shows that the Mahomedans, who constitute one-fifth of the population, have, outside Sind, no chance whatsoever of securing representation at the polls on the District and Local Boards. They are dependent for such modicum of representation as they enjoy on the goodwill of Government, exercised through their right of nomination. This fact has been repeatedly brought before the notice of Government, through the speeches of members of the Legislative Council and through letters in the press. It was recently presented in concrete form to His Excellency the Governor by means of a deputation. But the only answer they got was that it was not the intention of Government to give the Mahomedan community communal representation, because, forsooth, it would cause racial animosities. Racial animosities! Do not they already exist? Are not they embittered by the very fact that the Mahomedans find themselves excluded from participation in local affairs through the medium of election, and are left to the tender mercies of the Hindu elected members! Then we are told that we shall be represented by nominations through the one-third of the seats which

Government have reserved for their nominees. Let me speak quite frankly upon this point. The system of nomination has many advantages. In India there are important classes who have a right to be considered, and who for reasons connected with their family and all that is summed up in the word *izzat* cannot go to the hustings. Even in democratic England the same principle is recognised and carried into effect by the election of aldermen. But to say to a community "You shall be entirely dependent upon Government nominations for all the weight you shall exercise in the conduct of your local affairs" is to consign that community permanently to an inferior position. How often are we told that training in local affairs is the only true preparation for participation in the higher business of States? How then can the Mahomedan community qualify for the participation in higher affairs, which belongs to them by their numerical and political stake in the country, if they are debarred from placing their feet on the first rungs of the ladder? Nomination alone can never meet the needs of the Mahomedans. To be for ever dependent upon the goodwill of the local officers would sap their vigour and independence, and would emasculate them as a body. They

therefore take their stand upon the promises contained in the statesmanlike speech of Lord Minto in answer to the Mahomedan deputation which waited upon him at Simla. I have gone into these details in order to give my readers an idea of the real state of feeling between the Hindus and Mahomedans.

The antagonistic elements which form the component parts of the Indian population still remain antagonistic, in spite of the harmonizing influences of that religious tolerance which is one of the greatest blessings of British rule in this country. If the British were to leave India, would the Hindus and the Mahomedans be able amongst themselves to form a government sufficiently powerful to control the conflicting elements? I am certain that it is not practicable: history and tradition have proved it to be otherwise, for do not these communities themselves contribute elements of discord and racial hatred which have to be controlled? But let us for argument's sake suppose that the impossible is possible. How long could it remain so? If full local self-government be granted and Hindu, Mahomedan and Parsi lie down together, how long will that harmony last? Take away the two latter,

and how long could harmony exist with a purely Hindu Government if the British restraint were not longer existent? The Hindu religion teaches that the basis of a system of government is the organisation of society upon the principle of caste, the essential feature being that each of the functions required in the body politic is discharged by a separate section of the people. Just as it is the business of separate castes to worship the gods, to conduct banking business, and so on through the whole gamut of occupations, so the business of government is allotted to one special section and therefore cannot, if the Hindu religion be followed, be the business of the whole community, as it is in Western countries. The operation of this principle in the past is reflected in the present: we find the greater portion of the community apathetic in political matters, and political activity monopolised by a single caste—the Brahmans—who see, or think they see, in the removal of British control a prospect of restoring their former monopoly of political power. From a select and ruling caste to a monarchy is but a short step. In the *Mahabharata* it is laid down that the "Coronation of a king is the first duty of a kingdom," and that "first select a king,

then a wife and then earn riches." It even goes farther, laying down that if there be no king to wield the rod of chastisement, the strong would prey on the weak as do the fishes in the water, that it is through fear of the king alone that men do not devour one another, for if the king did not exercise the duty of protection, ruin would overtake everything, all kinds of injustice would take place, castes would become intermixed, and famine would ravage the kingdom.

There never was a time when representative government in any shape or form existed in India, and the last thing that can be said of the Members of the Legislative Councils as now constituted, whether elected or nominated, is that they are in any way representatives of the peoples of India.

Let us return to the supposition that local self-government in an advanced form be granted, and the Extremists' wish, namely the disappearance of British rule, be fulfilled in all but military protection. Just as rapidly as the British diminished their power of control, just as rapidly would the Government cease to be representative. The Hindu majority would first of all set itself to work to oust the Maho-

medans, and then to reduce its "representative" boards to self-seeking caste gatherings. It is not exaggerating to go farther, and forecast the immediate result—discontent amongst the Hindus and such hatred by and of the Mahomedans that it would speedily lead to open hostilities, in a word to domestic anarchy. It is easy to foresee this; and because I hold that at present it is impossible to conceive of such progress that the British could leave India for many generations that I maintained the condition that military protection was still to be afforded. What would follow in the train of anarchy but a complete bouleversement of the existing order, and the establishment of a power infinitely more despotic than anything ever seen by the present generation? If a reference is made to the resolutions which it was intended to pass at the Surat meeting of the Congress—the meeting which virtually destroyed the influence of that body last year—it will give cause to wonder. It has long been a complaint that entrance to the higher appointments can only be obtained by examination in England. The Congress desired that this should cease; but went much farther. A resolution was on the Agenda "that all examinations

held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and England, and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be by competitive examination only, with due reservation safeguarding the rights of educationally backward classes." What precious nonsense! On what principle can it be possible to "safeguard rights" in this matter, while retaining efficiency? But efficiency is the last thing desired by the Extremists, because they desire not the good of the country but the good of themselves. Their precious plea for the educationally-backward classes means nothing, and under an autonomous India primary education, controlled by Brahman influence, as would be necessary, could never exist, and the backward classes would cease to possess any rights at all.

I have dealt with swaraj from the point of view of the Extremist, that is to say as meaning the total supercession of the British. As matters stand to-day such a calamity would mean a brief Hindu rule, then anarchy. Knowing this to be inevitable, let all who have influence in the country unite in dismissing such a monstrous chimera. The British must remain, and all that can be wisely considered is how far the present system

of government can be advanced in order to secure the co-operation of those whose interests and knowledge are intimately blended with the welfare of the country. If England were to lose India it might be a national disgrace and a serious loss; but she would survive it. For India, however, it would mean absolute, unavoidable, ruin.



CHAPTER V

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL AND ITS SEQUEL

It has never been understood in India why, when the Partition of Bengal was a constitutionally-settled question and an accomplished fact, so much indecision should have been shown, both in London and India, in giving ear to the clamour of the Calcutta agitators. It was well known that this clamour would be raised, for even before the measure was adopted, whilst it was still in the realm of enquiry and discussion, threats were uttered of the anti-British agitation which would be fostered if the scheme were carried through. This much must be said, that not even the Indians themselves expected such a ferment as arose. The Partition is a measure which has been seized upon by that curious band of British Politicians who are never tired of abusing their own countrymen wherewith to harass the Secretary of State. They have demanded a return to the old order of things, and have even gone so far as to accept the ridiculous statement that by its agency the Bengali nation has been divided, maimed, ruined. The cry of

the Babu is that the Government conceived and carried out the Partition in order to weaken the influence of the Bengali. As a matter of fact his legitimate influence could not be impaired by the measure, because it only divided from Bengal Proper a population which was in no way represented by the Calcutta agitators who claim them as their lost brothers. The root of the whole pother was, of course, that the creation of the new province created a distinct Mahomedan power. Until Eastern Bengal and Assam were created as a separate district, the Mahomedan community of Eastern India was almost entirely unrepresented in the services and on the local boards. The impossibility of efficiently administering this bloated Province compelled Government to split up so overgrown a charge. The Province was unwieldy and progress was necessarily hampered. To leave matters as they were was impossible, and two alternatives were offered—either to raise the status of the head of the Province from a Lieutenant-Governor to that of Governor with a Council and to let Bengal rank with Bombay and Madras, or to divide the Province. If the former expedient had been adopted little would have been gained, and the additional ex-

pense would have been enormous. I say little would have been gained, for it is obvious that the capacity for work of any man is no greater as a Governor than as a Lieutenant-Governor. There would, in such a case, have been increases in the personnel of the administration, but little would have been gained in the way of efficiency. Indeed, instead of reducing the unwieldy Secretariat, its duties would have been increased. The alternative was to divide the Province into the two parts of which it was constituted geographically, racially and historically. By adopting this course it became possible to constitute two charges, neither of them so large that it could not be personally controlled and supervised by its Lieutenant-Governor, and although there may have been some errors in the demarcation of the boundary line, it was rightly adopted. I say rightly, because an examination of the political agitation waged against it by the Bengalis proves clearly that it never was a question of hardship and that the opportunity was seized to secure personal notoriety and advancement. There is an additional element in the agitation, namely, the influence brought to bear by the Poona Brahmin ; but to that I will refer later. The Partition was so necessary an

administrative step and the opposition to it so openly and avowedly disloyal, that I hope I shall not be accused of using language too strong when I say that, in common with many others, I was amazed at the weakness shown in giving ear to the repeated appeals and demands to return to the *status quo ante.*

No good or feasible grounds have ever been put forward for such a retrogressive step, yet the delay in placing the matter beyond doubt was so great that the Bengali was almost justified in his belief that his agitation was beginning to have effect. We know that the most searching enquiries were made before the step was adopted, and yet there was a delay of many months before Lord Morley had the courage of his convictions and refused to make any alteration. It was not until May 3rd, 1907, that he wrote to the Viceroy :—

"My Lord,—I have considered in Council the letter of your Excellency's Government, enclosing memorials addressed to me by (1) Khwaja Atikullah of Dacca and certain other inhabitants of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam, and (2) certain Muhammadan inhabitants of the district of Faridpur, in which they pray for a reconsideration of the orders regarding the Partition of Bengal.

2. "Your Excellency in Council has no recommendation to make on behalf of the memorialists.

3. "I have examined in Council the representations made by the memorialists; but while I fully recognise that the recent change has been unwelcome to some classes affected by it, I am not impressed either by the facts or by the arguments now advanced. I accordingly request that the memorialists may be informed that I am unable to comply with their prayer.

"I cannot doubt that your Excellency's Government will find the means to remove any substantial grievances that may be proved to exist, and I trust that, with the loyal co-operation of the people, the benefits anticipated, when the measure was sanctioned, will in no long time be generally realised."

Already these benefits are apparent to all but the wilfully blind, but the agitator comes forward again and again, and as the new Province has been in existence so long it is only possible to suppose that the periodical revival of the question is used to fan the flames of sedition when they begin to die down. That Lord Morley recognises this is proved by the opening words of his

Budget Speech in 1907, when he asked his hearers to remember that they were overheard by a great and complex community.

"We are overheard," he said, "by those who are doing the service of the Crown in India, by those who take part in the great work of commerce and non-official life in India, by the great Native Princes outside British India, and by the great dim masses of Indians who, in spite of all, we persist in regarding as our friends, and by those who, I am afraid, I must reluctantly call our enemies."

It will be permitted me, I feel sure, to quote Lord Morley's words used on that occasion when he reluctantly referred to those whom he had to call enemies. He need have had no qualms of conscience in so doing, for it is always better to recognise one's enemies than to hug the delusion that they are friends until their position is well nigh impregnable.

In that speech reference was made to the two deportations under the Regulation of 1818, and the clearest statement I have yet seen was given of the nature of the agitation in the Punjab and the attempt to win over not only the Sikhs but the Sikh Regiments. Lord Morley did not hesitate to

face the facts, and his deductions were absolutely correct. "Think of the emergency and the risk," he said, "suppose a single native regiment had by chance sided with the rioters. A blaze might possibly have been kindled, because accidents in India may lead to dire results. It would have been absurd for us, having got a weapon in our hand by ordinary, and not exceptional, law, in the face of the risk of conflagration not to use that weapon, and I for one have no apology to offer. It will be said it is a dangerous power. I know it. Nobody appreciates more than I do the dangers and mischiefs, aye, and the iniquities, in our olden history, and perhaps our present history, of what we called 'reasons of State.' I know those dangers well.

"'Reason of State' is full of mischief and full of danger, but so is sedition; and in India I should have incurred a criminal responsibility if I had opposed resort to this law. I do not think I need detain the House with the story of events in Eastern Bengal and Assam, which are of a different character from those in the Punjab. In consequences of the disturbances the Government of India, with our approval, have issued an ordinance which is under the authority and under

the terms of an Act of Parliament, and which enables the Government to deal with riots and seditious meetings, and so forth, with promptitude and effect. Down to May 29 it had not been found necessary to take action in any one of the proclaimed districts. In what is still the classic book upon the subject, John Stuart Mill said: 'Government by the dominant country is as legitimate as any other if it is the one which, in the existing state of civilisation and subject people, most facilitates their transition to a higher state.' I have examined a great number of communications from responsible officers of the Indian Government. In their view it is a mistake even now, in our hour of stress and anxiety, not to look at the thing rather largely. They all—or nearly all—admit that there is an estrangement, or perhaps I ought to say a refrigeration, between the officers and the people, that there is less sympathy between the Government and the people, and that for the last few years the doctrine of administrative efficiency has been pressed too hard—the wheels of the huge machine have been driven too fast."

And then he uttered words which summed up all the volumes which have been written about the governing of India:—"Our administration would

be a great deal more popular if it were a trifle less efficient and a trifle more elastic."

It was the same idea that prompted His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to appeal for greater sympathy and it was to prevent frequent transfers and to maintain a close personal touch between officers and their charges, that Lord Curzon revised the old leave rules of the Civil Service. Under these the administrative staff of each district was in a continual state of change. Frequent changes must necessarily involve a loss of touch between the rulers and the ruled. General Gordon once wrote: "To govern men there is but one way, and it is an eternal truth—get into their skins; try to realise their feelings. That is the true secret of government."

"I believe that most of the population of India is on our side," said Lord Morley. That was in 1907; but more than twelve months have elapsed since then, and the canker of sedition has spread, and not only spread broadcast, but has sunk in until there is scarcely a nook or corner of the Indian Empire where it is not to be found. That dissemination was, I think, preventable. In his first Budget Speech in 1906 Lord Morley foreshadowed reforms on a large

scale. In 1907 India was still waiting for them to be put into effect, and though the year 1908 is drawing to a close it is still waiting. It seems hard to reconcile the delay with that greater elasticity for which the Secretary of State asks. It was perhaps natural that those who had been the greatest enemies of the British should be dissatisfied with any promise of reform; but the Government both in India and in England refused to accept the view that because of local disturbances—I refer particularly to the troubles in the Punjab—there was need to suspend all efforts towards broadening the base of the administration, so as to meet the legitimate demands of the Indian people for a greater share in the Government. That opposition came only from the anti-India section, which is almost as dangerous an enemy to the country as the body of professional agitators. Wisely Government decided to make no alternation in its plans and to effect no curtailment of the proposed measures. Everything is to go on as before, only—and it is a great pity—the machinery has not been worked as fast as it might well have been. If the wheels of the huge machine have been driven too fast in the past, the brake has been applied too suddenly.

The contrast is too great, and it is perhaps not fair to condemn those who have become a little hopeless at the delay.

This must not, however, be taken to mean approbation of the political methods employed in Bengal and elsewhere. It refers solely to that section of the community which has learned the lessons taught in the last fifty years and which appreciates British policy—which is to build up the nations of India, to strengthen and educate its peoples, and to instil into them the principles of good government. It is absurd to believe that this great work has been undertaken aimlessly, in fact the establishment of the two colleges—the one for Mahomedans, the other for Hindus—was undertaken for the specific purpose of training Indians to assist in the country's administration. One shudders to think what the consequences would have been if England had not assumed the responsibility of educating India; but it was open to the British, had they so willed, to neglect education in this country, leaving it to live or die, nurtured only by its own resources. Such a course, because it would have been unjust, must inevitably have led to anarchy; but during such time as order remained the employment of Indians

to assist in the administration would have been impossible, and the Government would have been the most despotic which India has ever known. But because for a century and more—for the process has been going on ever since the first Factory was established in the country—the Indian has been trained in the science of administration, the time has come when fuller recognition should be given of the value of that training. That is no unreasonable demand; but this is not the policy of the Bengali, who sees good in nothing less than autonomy. In saying this I do not forget that there are in Bengal many whose loyalty to the British Raj has never been shaken; but they are in such a small minority that it is not unfair to class the whole population as supporting the pernicious propaganda which has spread its influence all over India,—the policy of the Extremists.

I will not weary my readers with too long a statement of what that policy has done. Neither will I add to the already too great advertisement which the wirepullers have obtained by giving their names. I think I have given sufficiently clearly the reason why the whole of the educated classes of India have been looking forward for

for some years past to a fuller share in the administration. It is a legitimate reason, and from the circumstances of the case it was necessary to represent these claims to Government. The crux of the matter lies in deciding how far such representation should go, how far the requests should be pressed. To that question I have no intention of offering an answer. The dividing line between right and wrong is not so clearly defined that it can be seen in all things, but the negative zone is small and that zone gave but brief satisfaction to the Extremists. One matter should be clearly understood, and it is that agitation in India has proved a profitable profession to the agitator. It is not given to all to suffer fools gladly, and while it has given horror to all right-minded men to see a living being made out of sedition, yet it has caused a certain amount of pleasure to think that the disciples of sedition have had to pay for their folly. It will probably never be known how large have been the funds with which the seditious propaganda has been carried on, but they must be of startling magnitude and it cannot be denied that the propaganda has been spread with remarkable ingenuity. The half-educated Babu has long been dissatisfied with

his lot, and the bait offered him was undoubtedly very tempting in the way in which it was put forward. Its spread admitted of a host of new newspapers appearing, until it seemed as if nearly all Bengal had turned journalist, those who remained being professional orators. It does not require great perspicuity to see that the new newspapers were created for the benefit of their proprietors, not for the good of the country. Youths just past the student age watched the spread of sedition amongst the student class, and chose a means of livelihood which lay at their hands, requiring the minimum both of brains and work. Had due thought been given to the subject of the Bengali Press, had there been less fear of the consequences, action might have been taken at the outset which would have put an effectual stop to the chief source of the trouble. A jaded taste ever requires increasing titillation to please it, and in the rush for circulation each Editor found his only hope in increasing the violence of his writings. Yet nothing was done to put a check to the outbreak. Outrage was preached and outrages took place, yet Government sat, seemingly with folded hands. At first gradually, then with alarming rapidity, practically the whole of the student popu-

lation of Bengal was organised into a hotbed of sedition. The Boycott from being a theory became a belligerent occupation. Those who were not willing to destroy their English goods were violently assaulted. Mahomedans who refused to join in anti-British demonstrations were subjected to persecution. Only when the outrages became most flagrant—and then only occasionally—was official action taken. Would it have been wonderful if the Mahomedans, members of small villages and towns, not of the educated class too, turned and said "Is this the strength of the British Raj?" Let me examine what was done. In several districts punitive police were posted; in several instances these police were assaulted by bands of students, and, regularly, attempts were made to blame the police for inciting the disturbances. That has been happening for two and a half years and it has been met chiefly by would-be conciliatory resolutions and circulars. Lord Morley spoke more truly than he knew when he asked "was it to be Martial Law and no damned nonsense."

One cannot meet lathis with words. I wish, lest the gravity of the situation as it then was—and is—be misunderstood, to quote from an article which appeared in a Vernacular paper in Bengal

in May of 1907 and was translated by the *Englishman* as follows:—"Where is Hell on Earth?" it commenced, and answered in the same breath "The Feringhis' Dominions."

"The Feringhi has got a fright. The ryot in the Punjab has become infuriated, the sepoys are shaky in their allegiance and that is why, like cowards, the Feringhis have superseded the courts of law and begun committing oppression. Yesterday the Feringhi merchants danced in uncontrollable joy at the news. Let them dance like red-faced monkeys as much as they can; but the rod of *Bedia* will soon come down on your heads and then you will have to run away screeching. What is our duty now? It is in the first place to unite and hold a monster meeting. Some might ask what good a meeting will do? It will do good, it is for holding meetings that the Punjab leaders have been arrested. The meeting is to be held to protest against this tyranny. An experiment will have to be made to see whether the Feringhis come forward to break up this meeting or to arrest the leaders here for the offence of holding this meeting. There will be no end of infamy if on this occasion of oppression the Calcutta leaders do not say to the Feringhis' face 'we have understood your limitations and your courts of justice are all shams.' Let the drum first sound in Calcutta and it will re-echo from all India.

"Arise, awake, the flame has caught on, Brethren. Now it has begun. The house has caught fire, sleep no more, arise, awake. You suppose that happiness and peace are reigning over the country and that with a few voting lights all your grievances will close. That is not so. Your hearth and home are going to be ruined. Nothing will avail, unless, maddened, you take up a resolute stand. Hang up for the present that pious policy of yours of reforms. It has become necessary now to come to an understanding with the Feringhi. There are few nations on earth so barbarous as the

Feringhis. You have been smitten so many times, why do you still go and flatter them? Let all combine and take up a single line of action. Cut off all contact with the Feringhis. Never go to them on any account. A boycott of the Feringhi, this should be our guiding principle now. Try, if the Feringhi is not brought to his knees then, and if the Feringhis resist the carrying to completion of this vow to boycott then they will be destroyed in the very flame which they have lighted up in the country.

"It will not do any longer simply to cease using bilati salt and sugar. To mix with the Feringhi must be looked upon as the same thing as eating dogs' flesh under the stress of hunger.

"We want complete independence. The country cannot prosper so long as the veriest shred of the Feringhis' supremacy over it is left. Swadeshi, boycott, all are meaningless to us if they are not the means of achieving our whole and complete independence. Fie on the idea that the Feringhis are to remain our masters for ever! A stranger has entered into our homes. He must be put out of it, or kept only as a servant or as a guest. This is the aim of the new party. Rights granted by the Feringhis as favours we shall spit at and reject and we shall work out our own salvation.

"Be not afraid, not very many listened to the young Mazzini on the day when, wounded to his heart's core by the sufferings and poverty of Italy, he firmly resolved to free his country from its bondage. But to-day Italy has expiated her own sin and has washed away in human blood the blackness of her stigma. Oh ye sons of Bengal, worshippers of Sakti, will you be averse from that? Under the stress of plague and famine lakhs upon lakhs of people are dying every year in the country. And yet are not ten thousand sons of Bengal prepared to embrace death to avenge the humiliation of their fatherland? The number of Englishmen in the entire country is not more than a lakh and-a-half. And what is the number of English officials in each district?

With a firm resolve you can bring English rule to an end in a single day. The time has come to make the Englishman understand that enjoying the sweets of dominion in another country, after wrongfully taking possession of it, will not be permitted to continue for ever. Let him now realise full well that the life of a thief who steals others' property is no longer an easy one in this country. Begin yielding up a life after taking a life.

"Dedicate your life as an offering at a temple of liberty. Without bloodshed the worship of the goddess will not be accomplished."

The article continues :—

"Courage does not come unless one knows what kind of preparations are being made. Many wish to know how many firearms have been collected. It is not very difficult to collect arms. A bomb is being prepared of a kind which will revolutionize the modern style of warfare. This bomb is also very cheap and all can carry it about in their pockets. But we are not in anxiety about arms. We want a band of sons of India. Those who, in spite of our present unhappy lot, believe that the day of independence is approaching, who can boldly and heartily declare that they do not wish to die without seeing India free, let all such combine."

"Furthermore, people are soundly thrashing a Feringhi wherever they come across one, and here wherever a Feringhi is seen the boys throw brick-bats at him as they get the opportunity. And thrashing the European soldier is continuing. The Feringhis also are getting thrashed. So to what pass have they come? Those Feringhis who used to walk defiantly through the heart of the city are to-day alarmed. They all carry pistols in their pockets and generally avoid the native quarters of the city.

"In the Punjab the people are subjecting the Deputy Commissioner to personal insults in public. The Feringhi Missionaries, male and female, have stopped going into

the interior of the villages. The Feringhi has got frightened. Bepin Babu has come to Calcutta and soon steps will be taken after a consultation. To-day is the 10th of May, the fiftieth anniversary of the Sepoy War. It is the duty of all to-day to remember the great hero and lover of his country, the Nana Sahib. May we be blessed by remembering on this the 10th of May the famous deeds of Nana Sahib and the men of heroic character who surrounded him."

"The belief of the people in the love of justice of the English has departed. And their belief in the strength of the English has also seriously diminished in view of the cowardice which the English have shown in connection with the troubles in Eastern Bengal. Who knows that the lathis which have been raised to-day for the expression of Swadeshi will not be used one day for the looting of the Englishman's treasures?"

"There is no word in the dictionary, no language in literature, no example on earth, with the assistance of which the story of the 'oppression at Jamalpur' may be narrated. To speak out plainly this grief, this agitation and this anger will not subside even with the uprooting of the British Empire. The flame of this excitement will not be extinguished even with the heart's blood of hundreds of Europeans like Fuller, Hare, Luffman and Clark. This desire for revenge on the part of the Hindu community will not be satisfied even with the burning alive of all Mussalam gundas of the party of the Nawab of Dacca and Nawab Ali, and of all the officials who are assisting them. Who is to blame and who is responsible for the insult and oppression which the Hindus are suffering to-day? It is not the Mussalman but the Englishman. Upon whom should all this be avenged? Not upon the Mussalman but upon the Englishman. We should never forget this for a moment."

"Listen and you will hear the mother's trumpet sounding, 'Son, don't tarry but get ready; go about from village to

village and prepare the Indians for death.' Let the fire of determination burn up everywhere. There is no other way. There is no other path. He who has money let him pour it in the place where this great ceremony is being held. He who has strength, let him combine with others who possess strength. Unite!

"Unite! there is no other course left.

"But mere words will not avail. Without the lathi and the bomb the Feringhi will not be brought to his senses and will not care for you even so little.

"A Brahmin's curse on thee, Feringhi. Banzai that those be consumed in the flame of India's brute strength."

What a farrago of lies and nonsense! Yet I have quoted it because it serves a useful purpose. It is a fair specimen of what has been published in Bengal for the last three years and, until very recently, unchecked. I have quoted it also because there are several significant passages in it. I do not pay special attention to the reference to bombs, because such language is part of the stock-in-trade of every seditionist throughout the world. There is the remark "and their belief in the strength of the English has also seriously diminished in view of the cowardice which has been shown in Eastern Bengal." Government was warned repeatedly that the Partition agitation was a seditious movement and should be put down with a strong hand, but they waited and the taunt was a

common one both from the press and platform. Such was the pabulum on which students were fed and babus preached it with embellishments to the ignorant villagers. Is it any wonder that, with such tactics unchecked, Bengal is seething with sedition?

CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTITION AND ITS SEQUEL.

(Continued.)

In the foregoing chapter I have shown how the mine was laid. It is necessary now to refer to an incident which has had a great bearing on the whole case. I mean the resignation of Sir Bamfylde Fuller. Now on paper, the theory that Government must accept the resignation of an official who resigns in anger, because his policy is defeated by the higher authority, is excellent, but here there were surrounding facts which entirely altered the case. Burdened with the task of quieting the new Province its Lieutenant-Governor, as the man on the spot, should have been given almost a free hand, and considering the state in which the country was, it was certainly most unwise to undermine Sir Bamfylde's authority by countermanding his published orders and favouring the student class, which deserved neither sympathy nor consideration. The facts were briefly as follows. When Sir Bamfylde went to Dacca, Eastern Bengal was seething

with anarchy. European ladies were afraid to go into the streets for they were certain to be insulted and the Mahomedan community made a direct appeal for protection from the Bengali "Patriots." As all who know anything of India are aware, it is customary to greet officials on their arrival at different places with an address of welcome. To Sir Bamfylde Fuller, Chief of the Province, this was refused. Looking back and judging in a calmer spirit than was possible at the time, his administration was one of extreme sympathy; in fact the Viceroy wrote of, and to him, concerning a proposed tour in the famine districts, that it was likely "to prove to your enemies, what your friends already know, that there is no kinder-hearted or more sympathetic man in India." As a matter of fact, at the time of the debacle the attitude of the Bengalis was beginning to change. In his own words "local councils commenced to vote addresses of welcome; towns were illuminated in my honour; and on my arrival, two days before I was thrown over by the Government, non-official gentlemen met me in large numbers, subsequently attending a reception at Government House and assuring me that the trouble was nearly ended,"

"Yet," he continues, "I could hardly be accused of deferring to the agitators. I had employed special police, though I was obliged by the Government to withdraw them; I had endeavoured to enforce discipline in schools and colleges, though here again I was unsupported."

Let me compare his peaceful and kindly regime, which was certainly leading back to law and order, with what followed. The downfall of Sir Bamfylde was as a torch to a haystack. To-day it is necessary to fill Eastern Bengal with punitive police in a way never contemplated by him and the regulations he sought to impose to keep students in check have been enforced with tenfold vigour. His departure was the signal for a fresh outburst of unexampled magnitude. Valuable time was lost and because the master-hand had been taken from the helm it was impossible immediately to reimpose the restrictions which had previously been negatived. Let me quote from the letter "J'accuse" which Sir Bamfylde wrote to *The Times*:—

"Next, as regards the partition, the Government made up its mind that it was to stand. Why did it not say so definitely and courageously? The replies to questions put in Parliament have positively been incitements to violence, as they have always indicated the possibility of reconsideration,

at first if new arguments, and, later on, if new facts, were forthcoming. Is it strange if the disaffected in India have thought that rioting and outrage would serve the purpose of one and of the other? An awkward division in Parliament has been eluded, and from this point of view indefiniteness may have been politic. But human nature in India saw in it more of nervousness than of skill."

"Again, the attitude of the Government towards the boycott has disheartened its friends in India and encouraged its enemies. The boycott was, from the very commencement, violently anti-British, and its apostles have stopped short of nothing which could bring us into contempt. Yet the references of Government to the movement have been deprecatory rather than condemnatory ; in speech and minute more pains have been taken to evince solicitude for the industries of the country than detestation for the violence and injustice with which it has been attempted to secure them a monopoly. A people harassed by picketing and counter-picketing does not appreciate a spirit of philosophic detachment in its rulers. It ascribes it to funk."

" But, it will be said, the Government actually went so far as to arrest two of the arch-agitators and deport them without form of trial. True ; it let them out again almost immediately, and in the eyes of the country is weaker than if it had never laid hands upon them. It seemed to find the water too hot."

" We have had eloquent words, courageous words, in Parliament. But words count for little in the East and merely awaken speculations as to what they are intended to conceal. It is deeds that impress men. What has the Government done to repress gross misbehaviour in schools and colleges? It issued a circular commending action of the kind which, when taken by me, it had disapproved ; the circular was openly defied, and it lies a dead-letter. It passed, after much talking, a law by which seditious meetings could be prohibited. It has not ventured to put the law

into force, and riotous assemblies have been held in defiance of the law and have spread even to peaceful Madras. It has undertaken some Press prosecutions. But under the law as it stands, the results have been quite farcical and no effort has been made to strengthen the law, and render it efficient for its professed purpose."

The final remark about the Press law was, of course, made out of date almost immediately by legislation which was enacted within a few days. To that I shall refer later; for the present let us turn to the official circulars relating to students. In May 1907 Sir Herbert Riseley sent to Local Governments and Administrations a letter "on the subject of the principles to be observed and the line of action to be followed with the object of protecting higher education in India from the dangers with which it is threatened by the tendency of both teachers and pupils to associate themselves with political movements and to take a prominent part in organising and carrying out overt acts of political agitation." The rules laid down differed in their nature when applied to the school-boys and college students, and school-masters and professors of colleges. In the case of school-boys the matter was dealt with simply. Due warning had to be given and if this were disregarded the local Government had the power of withdrawing any grant-in-aid and of withholding

the privilege of competing for scholarships and of receiving scholarship-holders, while the University could withdraw its recognition of the school which would, in effect, prevent its scholars from appearing at the Matriculation examination.

The regulations as regards students of affiliated colleges were slightly different. It was recognised that they are no longer school-boys but undergraduates, some of them even having obtained a degree. For these it was laid down that mere attendance at political meetings as distinguished from taking active part in their proceedings would not call for such strong measures; but if their action brought "undesirable notoriety" on the colleges to which they belonged, or if they were to engage in political agitation in such a way as to interfere with the separate life and educational work of the place, and still more if such propaganda assumed the form of picketing and open violence, "there would certainly be need to withdraw—if only for a time—the privilege of affiliation to the University."

As regards the school-master it was laid dow that "if his public utterances were of such a character as to endanger the orderly development of the boys under his charge by introducing

into their immature minds doctrines on the subject of their respect for authority calculated to impair their usefulness as citizens his proceedings must be held to constitute a dereliction of duty, and may properly be visited with disciplinary action," and this was all to be the more observed should "a school-master be found to have conducted or even encouraged his pupils to attend a political meeting." Finally, rules were laid down for the treatment of educationists of the highest rank. "The principle laid down extends also to college professors, but it cannot be applied so fully. A professor is dealing with more advanced and more responsible material than a schoolmaster, and it is everywhere recognised that he may claim a large discretion in respect of the expression of opinion, but he also has special obligations. If he abuses his position by diverting the minds of his students to political agitation; if he encourages them to attend political meetings or personally conducts them to such meetings; or, if while avoiding open propagandism he adopts a line of action which disturbs and disorganises the life and work of the college at which he is employed, and if the governing body of the college fail to

check such abuse, then it is clearly the duty of the University to interfere in the interests of the educational efficiency, of which it is the constituted guardian. If the University were to refuse to control its affiliated colleges in this respect, it would fail to carry out the educational trust with which the law has invested it, and it would be the duty of the Government to intervene."

Did this document go too far or not far enough? Certainly, as Sir Bamfylde Fuller described it, it is a dead-letter, and students attend political meetings at will and "bring notoriety" not only on their schools and colleges but upon the whole of Bengal and the new Province. Personally I think the orders did not go far enough; and they were openly flouted. Subsequent events have proved that the restrictions were very necessary and that they could not have been carried out too vigorously.

Following on the regulations regarding politics came the restrictions as to the holding of political meetings and finally the legislation regarding the Press, which aims at the root of the whole trouble. The article I have quoted is sufficient to show that the Press had become thoroughly

unlicensed and pernicious in its teaching. Before detailing the measures taken to stop the evil let me turn to what had happened.

As an immediate result of the boycot agitation was formed the body of "National Volunteers" —youths who armed themselves with lathis, picketed Mahomedan dealers who refused to join in the anti-British movement, and eventually made determined attacks on Europeans. Assaults of the foulest character were perpetrated and even women were not safe from attack. Several places obtained an undesirable notoriety for insecurity; but as a matter of fact the whole of Bengal and Eastern Bengal was and is in such a ferment that it was unsafe for ladies to move about during broad daylight unescorted.

How is it that all this came about? How is it that from the very day on which Sir Bamfylde Fuller's resignation was announced sedition and its attendant outrages increased with tenfold, with a hundredfold vigour? I can answer the question without any hesitation. "If it is possible for us to depose the Lieutenant-Governor," said the Bengalis to themselves, "let us increase our efforts and then we shall be able to depose the Viceroy,

perhaps even the Secretary of State." Thus the acceptance of a resignation which might have been right in other circumstances was a colossal blunder, for it was erroneously construed into weakness. To support my contention one has only to look at the events which have followed. At St. Andrew's dinner in Calcutta in 1907 Sir Harvey Adamson justified the action of Government in passing the Seditious Meetings Bill by pointing out the danger to India of unbridled license of the press and platform through its effect on the rising generation. That effect cannot be over-estimated. Hardly twelve months have elapsed since that speech and yet sedition has grown into anarchy and anarchy into organised murder.

The whole rising, for it can be called nothing else, culminated in the murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, an anarchical outrage so dastardly that it is impossible to find its parallel. Following immediately upon this came the sensational disclosures of the anarchist societies of Bengal, yet there are still those who affirm that the legislation of June last was unnecessary. Let us briefly recapitulate the facts. A definite society was started in Calcutta for the dissemination of anarchical material of all kinds and for the building up

of a body of anarchists whose avowed intention was to drive out the British. The headquarters of this Society were at a house in Maniktolla, and when this was raided by the police the full paraphernalia that might be expected was found. The property found included rifles, guns, revolvers, a large quantity of ammunition, and in all three cases of bombs, detonators, picric acid and other explosives, pestles and mortars, tools, bellows, tin piping, sheets of tin, zinc and copper; there was also a shed fitted up as a small workshop. That the place was used as a storehouse for ammunition and the manufacture of bombs there cannot be any doubt, and a bullet-riddled tree proved that shooting practice was conducted there. The literature found included some standard writings on explosives and two manuscript copies of a work which began by stating that its object was to place in the hands of a revolutionary people a knowledge of explosives, and proceeded to describe in non-technical language the method of manufacturing seventy-two kinds of explosives; it also gave instructions for destroying bridges and buildings and added that the object of the Society was not a few isolated assassinations but the wholesale destruction of the enemy.

Other papers were found which proved that the Society had in its midst clever brains capable of organising and preparing for all eventualities. Yet it needed the foul murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy before this cesspit of murder was unearthed.

There were copious notes in manuscript on military evolutions, a manuscript list of various kinds of firearms, a list of proof corrections of some work on explosives, manuscript notes on the general principles of war with headings including "Explosives, Artillery," and "Causes of Indian Mutiny." A book headed "Important Notes on Drill," including rifle exercise, bayonet practice, firing exercises and a list of explosive substances with minute details of the method of manufacture; a large number of copies of a book in Bengali called "The Modern Art of War," and a manuscript paper containing minute details of the Eastern Bengal State Railway from Dum Dum Junction to Bogoola, giving the nature of the country by the side of the line, mentioning places where there is thick jungle or open country and where there are culverts, while another paper dealt similarly with a large section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. This shows clearly what the nature

of the Society was, and it has since been conclusively proved that the *Jugantar*, a paper which has finally been suppressed, was the public organ of the Society, and at least some of the members of the Society became such, on their own confession, because of the articles they read in that paper.

Now let me turn to the work actually done by the Society. The first act was to attempt to wreck the Lieutenant-Governor's train between Chandernagore and Mankundu. The plot failed because the train came up before it was expected and there had not been time to fasten the bomb in position. A second attempt on the Lieutenant-Governor's train was made shortly afterwards, one of the men concerned being the man who shot himself after the Muzaffurpore murder. Again a miscalculation of plans made the attempt abortive. The third attempt on December 6, 1907, was more successful, as it did considerable damage to the engine. The next outrage was the attempted assasination of the Mayor of Chandernagore, the object being to get money for the Society by pleasing people who were annoyed with the Mayor for prohibiting the holding of swadeshi meetings—in a word for being friendly to the British. The fifth outrage

was the murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy with a bomb which was admittedly intended for the District Magistrate who had convicted several people in sedition cases.

Since then there have been repeated cases of bomb throwing all over Bengal. To crown all it has been found that while plenty of money was subscribed to the Society its funds were systematically augmented by the proceeds of dacoities. Is it unreasonable to ask what were the Police doing, and also to ask what were the authorities in general doing, to allow the subsequent outrage at Alipore gaol, when an informer was shot dead with weapons brought in by persons admitted to the gaol to see prisoners without being searched? Since then it has transpired that the gaol could almost have been turned into an anarchists' storehouse without ever exciting suspicion.

The immediate result of the discovery of the Society was legislation of a far-reaching character. It took the form of two Acts, one to amend the law relating to explosives, which not only dealt with deeds but quite rightly laid the onus of proof of innocence on "any person who makes or knowingly has in his possession or

under his control any explosive substance under such circumstances as to give rise to a reasonable suspicion that he is not making it or does not have it in his possession or under his control for a lawful object." The other Act was the complement of the first, and was designed to include Editors and others connected with newspapers in the category of those who are abettors of violence. In the statement of the Objects and Reasons of the Act it is stated :—

"The circumstances of the recent outrages by means of explosive substances have disclosed a close connection between the perpetrators of such outrages and certain newspapers which have from time to time published criminal incitements. Experience has shewn that prosecution under the existing law is inadequate to prevent the publication of these incitements. In the case of one newspaper, persons registered as printer and publisher have been within a comparatively short period prosecuted and convicted several times, while the real authors of the incitements have concealed their identity. This newspaper, notwithstanding these prosecutions, continues to exist and to pursue its criminal course. Nor is this a solitary instance of the kind."

In his speech at the Indian Civil Service Dinner Lord Morley said that the Acts should have been passed twenty years ago. There was, of course, at the time much nonsense talked of the "Freedom of the Press." Lord Morley gave a clear, and final answer to all such comments.

"When I am told," he said, "that an Act of this kind is a restriction on the freedom of the Press I do not accept it for a moment. I do not believe that there is a man in England who is more jealous of the freedom of the Press than I am. But let us see what we mean. It is said, 'Oh, these incendiary articles'—for they are incendiary and murderous—'are mere froth.' Yes, they are froth; but they are froth stained with bloodshed. When you have men admitting that they deliberately write these articles and promote these views with a view of furthering murderous action, to talk of the freedom of the Press in connection with that is wicked moonshine. We have now got a very radical House of Commons. If I were still a member of the House of Commons, I should not mind for a moment going down to the House—and I am sure that my colleagues would not mind—to say that when you find these articles, on the avowal of those concerned,

expressly designed to promote murderous action, and when you find as a fact that murderous action has come about, it is moonshine to talk of the freedom of the Press. There is no good in indulging in heroics. They are not wanted. But an incendiary article is part and parcel of a murderous act. You may put picric acid in the ink and pen just as much as in any steel bomb. I have one or two extracts here with which I will not trouble you. But when I am told that we may recognise it as one of the chief aims of good government that there may be as much public discussion as possible, I read that sentence with great edification and then I turn to what I had telegraphed for from India—extracts from the *Jugantar*." To talk of public discussion in connection with matters of that kind is really pushing things too far.

What though has been done? There was the famous circular on schoolboys and politics issued by Sir Herbert Riseley. Where is it now? From all one hears it seems as if it might have been consigned to the waste paper basket. What of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act? How often is it enforced? What of the Explosives Act and Newspapers Act? Are they to become dead

letters too? Recently there has been issued a Resolution by the Bombay Government, regarding schoolboys and politics. As an expression of pious opinion it is admirable, but I confidently anticipate that it will be consigned to the limbo of oblivion, as was its predecessor.

Why are such administrative steps taken if they are to be immediately disregarded? The view taken in India is that where action is necessary and the necessary powers exist, to decline to exercise those powers is a sign of great weakness. That opinion is not confined to any particular Province of India, and it is undermining the strength and authority of Government.

Anything that Government does by which it will not stand, gives an opportunity to the Extremists to hold it up as an example of weakness; and the ignorant, believing it to be a fact, gradually shed their respect for the Raj.

What is it to be in Bengal in face of all that has transpired? Is it to be "Martial Law and no damned nonsense?" In my opinion there is no other possible course open, for when, and only when, order has been restored will it be possible safely to take that step farther which is so much desired by all.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROMISED REFORMS.

Having examined the state of India as it is, it becomes necessary to find the way out of its troubles, and in so doing I should be failing in my duty if I did not protest against the saddling of India with another £300,000 a year for military expenditure. It is, I think, an entirely unjustifiable charge, and unfortunately it has come at a time when it could be seized upon by the Extremists and magnified into a serious grievance, which justifies a strengthening of the fight against the Government. If it has been felt imperative and unavoidable to make the extra charge, at least it would have been more politic to have waited until the present problem was in a fair way towards solution.

How is the administration of India to be brought into touch with the changed conditions of the day? One of the first acts of Lord Curzon in his struggle for efficiency was to check the system, which had grown to alarming proportions, of writing voluminous reports on everything. No system is perfect; but undoubtedly

the small advantages that are occasionally missed by the curtailment of reports are counterbalanced a hundred times by the extra time found by the men who write them to devote to the personal side of their duties. The District Officer is overworked and the extra strain of long report writing made it impossible that he should be able to foster any close relationship with those whose affairs he administered. There has been too much centralisation, and centralization is the very antithesis of that sympathy which is now expected. The work of officials had become lifeless and there had grown up a tendency to override local authorities and also—because it was so seldom sought and because it was not given unasked—Indian opinion. I cannot do better than draw attention to a remark made by Lord Morley in his budget speech in June 1907.

"You often hear," he said, "people talk of the educated section of India as a mere handful, an infinitesimal fraction. So they are in numbers. But it is fatally idle to say that that infinitesimal fraction does not count. That educated section makes all the difference. That the educated section should attack the present system of Government has long been foreseen,

has long been known to be inevitable. There is no surprise in the facts that they want a share of political influence and that they want the emoluments of administration." In that speech reference was made to a despatch sent Home by Lord Minto proposing to widen the basis of the administration by increasing the popular element, and shortly afterwards the sum and substance of that despatch was made public. It is necessary to consider the proposals made in it with considerable minuteness.

The first measure for which provision was made was an Imperial Advisory Council. The Government and Local administrations have always tried to secure the advice of those interested before taking any steps of an important character, and that advice has usually been forthcoming, often in the form of useful criticism. The Imperial Advisory Council was intended to supplement, and not to be an alternative to, this system. There are many public questions, indeed there are very few that are not of identical interest to the British Government and to Native States. A measure of the kind contemplated, it was said, would to some extent satisfy a growing want in India. It would give a greater sense of

responsibility to those whose advice was sought on questions submitted to them, and it would at the same time commend itself to public opinion as tending to promote more intimate relations between the component parts of the Indian Empire. The members of the Council would be consulted either singly or collectively, as occasion demanded, and while the weight of their advice would be great, the executive authority would be unimpaired, and this, as the despatch observed, would be in accordance with the best traditions of Oriental polity.

The proposals made for constitution of the Council were as follows :—

1. That a Council, to be called "The Imperial Advisory Council," should be formed for purely consultative purposes."

2. That all the members should be appointed by the Viceroy and should receive the title of "Imperial Councillors."

3. That the Council should consist of about sixty members for the whole of India, including about twenty Ruling Chiefs, and a suitable number of the territorial magnates of every province where landholders of sufficient dignity and status are to be found.

4. That the members should hold office for a substantial term, say for five years, and should be eligible for reappointment.

5. That the Council should receive no legislative recognition, and should not be vested with formal powers of any sort.

6. That its functions should be purely advisory, and that it should deal only with such matters as might be specifically referred to it from time to time.

7. That the proceedings of the Council when called together for collective consultation should, as a rule, be private, informal and confidential, and they would not be published, although Government would be at liberty to make any use of them that it thought proper. The Government of India believe that only confidential communications will secure frank interchange of opinion; but they are disposed to think that it might be advisable after matters had been threshed out in confidential consultation to provide for some public conferences at any rate on those occasions when the Government desires to make its motives and intentions better known, to correct misstatements, and to remove erroneous impressions."

I regret to say that I do not think any measure of success is possible on the exact lines indicated. The Advisory Council would not, of course, affect the official majority which must be maintained in the Legislative Councils; but I doubt whether the Imperial Advisory Council would ever have any opinion to offer on any subject. In the first place, the Ruling Chiefs would refuse to confer on an equal footing with the notables, and so a deadlock would be reached at the outset and the Council would be as useless as that of 1877. But supposing for a moment that times have changed sufficiently for such a Council to be workable, even then it would not be representative of the interests involved, for the Ruling Chiefs, while representative of their own people, do not in the majority of cases understand or care to understand what life under British rule is—when there are hardships, and when legitimate aspirations should be encouraged. From the Imperial Advisory Council it is but a short step to the Provincial Advisory Councils by whom the majority of the work would be done. Just as the large landholders are to be represented in the Imperial Council, so are lesser landholders to be represented on the Provincial Councils, together with representatives of industry,

commerce and capital; whilst, it is contended, the inclusion in the Council of non-official Europeans would tend to promote a better understanding and clear away on both sides injurious prejudices and misconceptions.

Let me now turn to the Legislative Councils. It is an admitted fact that the scheme under which the Legislative Councils were enlarged in 1892 has not been altogether successful as regards their representative character, for the large landholders have been far less adequately represented than the lawyers, and this despite efforts at a more even distribution by means of nomination.

In order to secure the accomplishment of its objects Government has suggested the following as the lines on which the Viceroy's Legislative Council should be constituted in future :—

(1) The maximum strength of the Council might be 53, or including the Viceroy, 54.

(2) This number might be made up thus:—

(i) Ex-officio the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (or of the Punjab when the Council assembles in Simla), the Commander-in-Chief, and the members of the Executive Council—8 ; (ii) Additional officials to be nominated, not exceeding 20; (iii) A

Ruling Chief to be nominated by the Viceroy—1; (iv) Elected members :—(*a*) By the Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta and Bombay—2; (*b*) By the non-official members of the Provincial Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma—7; (*c*) By the Nobles and the great land-owners of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab and the Central Provinces—7; (*d*) By Mahomedans—2; (*e*) Non-officials nominated by the Viceroy to represent minorities or special interests, not less than two to be Mahomedans—4; (*f*) Experts to be nominated by the Viceroy, when necessary, for special purposes—2; Total 53 or, including His Excellency the Viceroy—54.

Lest I should be accused of misinterpreting the proposals of Government, I have incorporated the main outlines of the reform scheme in an appendix. Let me say at once that these proposals go a very long way indeed towards meeting the legitimate ambitions of the Indian people. They widen the basis of representation, and they provide for the specific representation of those large and important classes, with a huge stake

in the prosperity and well-being of the country, which have been left almost entirely aside by the operation of the existing law. They do not contain certain amendments of procedure which should be embodied in any project for the enlargement of the present machinery. For instance, there is nothing to prevent the unanimous opinion of the unofficial members from being overridden on any occasion. Every one must agree that an official majority, or the means of making the official policy preponderant, must be furnished. Without this there would be no guarantee of effective action in a great emergency, such as might easily arise. Then we have also to consider that Parliament is ultimately responsible for the Government of India, and Parliament must have some means of making its will predominant. But nevertheless there should be special consideration given to the unanimous expression of the opinion of the unofficial members in the Councils, even when that clashes with the official view, and machinery should be provided whereby when the unofficial members solidly oppose a certain course, it should not be resolved upon without further inquiry. Then again we want to see the right of interpellation extended. It is one of the valuable

means of making popular grievances known, and the restrictions which now hedge it round might with advantage be greatly relaxed. With these amendments in procedure, the Government scheme is wise and liberal, and provides as sound a basis for the expansion of the popular element in the administrative machinery.

Far as the proposals go—and no one is more ready than I to acknowledge their far-reaching importance and magnitude—there are still matters which need remedies. In my book "The Unrest in India, considered and discussed," published in 1907 and written long before the publication of the above despatch, I advocated several remedies. Some of them are covered by Lord Minto's scheme, others are not. For instance (1) that Government should interpret more liberally the several promises made to Indians in the Proclamations of 1858, 1877 and 1903, (2) give Indians a larger share in the actual governance of India, (3) admit Indians to all branches of the administration of the country (to a greater number of active appointments in every department, except the Military), (4) that more money should be spent on discriminate education, (5) a more equitable distribution of the Mili-

tary charges between Great Britain and India and the removal of the additional burden of £300,000 now saddled on India, (6) the appointment of two Indian gentlemen (one Mahomedan and one Hindu) to the Supreme and Provincial Executive Councils; if this be not practicable, let them form part of the full Council in an advisory capacity only, they holding no portfolios and discharging no executive functions. But they should certainly be consulted on every question with the other members.

We have reached a time when the motto must be "deeds not words." Lord Morley's sympathy is well understood; but more than sympathy is required now. The delay in carrying out the reform scheme is one of the chief causes which have set India in a ferment, and I regret to say that this very procrastination is sapping the loyalty of those who would fain shun the malcontents were there any signs of hope that the required reforms would be granted without continued agitation. That this should be so is a matter for the greatest regret; but there is undoubtedly a feeling throughout the country that the agitators are gaining their points individually, whilst those who remain loyally and

patiently silent are being ignored. In this respect I must refer briefly to the treatment of Mahomedans. A deputation was assured by the Viceroy in 1906 that Mahomedan interests would be protected in every way. I regret to say that the promise has not been carried into effect with the thoroughness which was reasonably expected of so clear a statement. Recently a deputation of the Deccan Moslem League waited on the Governor of Bombay with regard to the representation of Mahomedans on local bodies, and it is to be deplored that despite the official and unofficial figures adduced to prove that under the present system adequate Mahomedan representation is practically impossible, the deputation met with a most discouraging reply. I can only hope that action will be taken by the higher authority to secure a redress of this very genuine Mahomedan grievance.

There is one other matter to which I would draw special attention, namely, the attitude which has been adopted towards sedition in Bombay. The effective conviction of Tilak has been greatly weakened. Lord Morley described sedition in India as foam and froth. It was so once; but now it is another matter. The state of Bengal to-day is

the result of mistaken leniency during the last few years. It is common knowledge that a large part of the seditious movement is manœuvred by the Deccan Brahmins, of whom Tilak was leader. In my opinion it was a great mistake to mix up the judicial and executive in the manner pursued in the recent trial. Government had it in its power to deport him as had been done with other offenders of a similar nature in the Punjab. The Tilak case was not a fit one to be given all the publicity of a High Court trial, and the form of prosecution was unfortunately conceived, because it gave the impression that the trial was made to serve ends which had been decided upon by the executive branch. But having granted him a trial, what folly has followed? The commutation of the sentence passed on him was as unnecessary as it was impolitic, and it is bound to have unfortunate, if not disastrous, results. Sedition leads quickly to anarchy. Bombs are not confined to Bengal and the counterpart of the Maniktolla arsenal has been unearthed in Western India. Sedition can be dealt with only in one way, absolute firmness. Such action as the commutation of Tilak's sentence and the continued announcements of special privileges to him,

and the release of Lala Rajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, will only defer the day when order is restored, perhaps so react that peace can only be reached again through bloodshed. Clemency has been mistaken for fear; and I am only voicing the opinions of all loyal Indians when I say that the release of the rioters in Bombay and the Government attitude towards Tilak were administrative and tactical blunders.

Carthago delenda est. Before there can be any real reforms in India, sedition and anarchy must be put down with an iron hand. Despite his sympathy, Lord Morley has been evasive in his replies to those who have gone to him. He has been long enough in office to grasp the facts of the situation, indeed has done so in a manner which might have been expected to take longer to accomplish, and it must be apparent to him that promises, however well intentioned, must now give way to action. The very vagueness of his utterances has caused occasional uneasiness when it was hoped that the time had been reached for a definite pronouncement, not only on the carrying out of the reforms but on the mode of dealing with the present unrest.

To me there seems but one initial course open, merciless repression of sedition. Let that be

made the first policy of Government and then let the promised administrative reforms be granted with all possible speed. The Extremists will never be satisfied, but I am convinced that the granting of the reforms which have been foreshadowed so long would take all the force out of the discontent which is growing day by day, fed on delays and disappointments.

In conclusion the best suggestion which I can offer is, to decide once and for all what the British are going to do for India and to consider how far the aspirations of Indians are legitimate. To arrive at a conclusion is no light problem, and the matter requires very careful handling. The course which strikes me as the most feasible one is to appoint a commission consisting of the present and past English Cabinets, Lords Cromer and Roberts, Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree, Mr. Syed Amir Ali and the members of the Secretary of State's Council now serving, and others who have retired, and let them decide what should be done for Indians. I think the most rabid Extremist will agree to this suggestion, as a commission of such notables has never been appointed before and the conclusions that will be arrived will be absolutely honest and just.

Once the establishment of the commission is communicated to Indians and they are told definitely that they will not be allowed to go over a certain fixed point, I think the unrest will cease altogether.



APPENDIX.

THE REFORM SCHEME.

With a view to avoiding any possible misunderstanding of the Government of India's reform scheme, the essential features of the despatch are reproduced in the form of an appendix :—

Under the present system four additional members are elected by the non-official members of the Councils of Bombay, Madras, Bengal and the United Provinces. The Government of India propose to raise the number to 7 by extending the privilege of election to the non-official members of the Councils of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Punjab and Burma. The number of non-official members of such Councils will no doubt be materially increased. This will remove the objections which have been taken to entrusting the privilege of election to so important a post as that of member of the Viceroy's Council to an electorate consisting of only about ten persons.

The Government of India are impressed with the necessity for giving substantial representation to the great landholders, who not only constitute the aristocratic and stable elements in Indian society, but also represent the interests of the landholders, great and small. For the purpose of securing the adequate representation of this class, it has been suggested that a list of electors should be formed in each province, and that they should be required to elect direct. The precise details of the electorate will require careful consideration, and they will necessarily vary with the circumstances of each province, but the general idea is that a provincial electorate varying in size from 100 to 150, should

be aimed at, and that the amount of land revenue giving the right to vote should not be less than Rs. 10,000 a year. The exact limit to be fixed must, of course, depend on the status of the landholders in the province concerned. In every case it would be made a condition that the member elected to represent this class must himself belong to it. Owing to the peculiar conditions of Burma, where there are no large landowners outside the primitive Shan States, that province would be excluded from this category.

The question may be raised whether a satisfactory constituency for the purpose of electing a member of the Imperial Legislative Council can be formed by massing together for voting purposes the entire body of landholders in so large and in many respects so heterogeneous an area as an entire province. It may be thought that an electorate thus constituted would be wanting in solidarity ; that it would be apt to fall into the hands of wire-pullers ; and that, by reason of the incongruous elements which it comprised, it might fail to choose a suitable representative on the Imperial Council. On this point, therefore, the Governor-General in Council reserves judgment until he is in possession of the views of local Governments. As an alternative solution the suggestion has been made that a representative of the landholders should be elected to the Imperial Council by the landholding members of the Provincial Council, either from among their own number, or from among landholders paying the amount of land revenue that may be fixed as giving the right to vote for or to be a member of the Provincial Council. It is also a matter for consideration whether in some provinces representatives of this class, whether on the Provincial or on the Imperial Council, cannot be better obtained by system of nomination.

The last point that remains for consideration under this head relates to the representation of special interests and minorities, and in particular of the Mohamedan community. In this connection I am to invite attention to the observa-

tions made by His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the address presented to him by a large and representative deputation on the 1st October 1906. The Government of India concur with the presenters of the address that neither on the Provincial nor in the Imperial Legislative Councils has the Mahomedan community hitherto received a measure of representation commensurate with its numbers and political and historical importance; and they desire to lay stress upon His Excellency's observation that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. Under the system of election hitherto in force, Hindus largely predominate in all or almost all the electorates, with the result that comparatively few Mahomedan members have been elected. These have been supplemented by nominations made by Government. But the total representation thus effected has not been commensurate with the weight to which the Mahomedan community is entitled ; and it has, moreover, been strongly urged that even the system of nomination has frequently failed to secure the appointment of Mahomedans of the class by whom the community desires to be represented.

The Government of India suggest, therefore, for the consideration of local Governments the adoption of the following measures :—

Firstly, in addition to the small number of Mahomedans who may be able to secure election in the ordinary manner, it seems desirable in each of the Councils to assign a certain number of seats to be filled exclusively by Mahomedans.

Secondly, for the purpose of filling the latter, or a proportion of them, a special Mahomedan electorate might be constituted, consisting of the following classes :—(1) All who pay land revenue in excess of a certain amount. The

figure need not be the same in each province but should in all cases be sufficiently low to embrace the great body of substantial landholders. (2) All payers of income-tax. This would comprise trading and professional classes, with incomes exceeding Rs. 1,000 a year. (3) All registered graduates of an Indian University of more than, say, five years' standing.

The electoral lists would be prepared on a distinct basis and the distribution of seats would be settled by the local Governments. It would not be necessary, however, to throw open all the seats to election. Indian gentlemen of position sometimes refuse to offer themselves as candidates to a wide electorate, partly because they dislike canvassing and partly by reason of their reluctance to risk the indignity of being defeated by a rival candidate of inferior social status. For these reasons it would probably be advisable to reserve a proportion of the seats to be filled, as at present, by nomination.

In the case of the Governor-General's Council it has been suggested that of the four seats which the Government of India have proposed to set apart for Mahomedans, two should be filled by nomination by the Viceroy. For the other two election by the following provinces in rotation, *viz.*, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, Punjab, Bombay and Madras is suggested. In Burma and the Central Provinces the proportion of Mahomedans is not large enough to entitle them to special representation. The composition of the electorate in the six Provinces mentioned above formed the subject of representations by some prominent members of the Mahomedan deputation which waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy in October 1906. They proposed that the electorate should be constituted as follows :—

(*a*) The Mahomedan non-official members of the Provincial Councils as ultimately expanded.

(*b*) The Mahomedan fellows of the Local University, where one exists.

(*c*) Mahomedans paying income-tax upon an annual income of Rs. 25,000 or paying an amount of land revenue, to be determined for each province separately, which will indicate a correpsonding income.

The Government of India apprehend that some difficulty may be experienced in compiling a list of voters under the last of these heads, but this is a matter on which they will be guided by the opinion of local Governments. Should it be found impracticable to compile a register of voters under (*c*), then they are disposed to think that the electorate should be confined to the Mahomedan non-official members of the Provincial Councils. This proposal is open to the objection that the number of electors will be small; but it has the merit of being uniform with the system under which the other non-official members are elected by the members of the Provincial Councils.

Of the four seats provided for the nomination of non-officials under head "E," two would be reserved for Mahomedans, to whom not less than four seats in the Governor-General's Council would thus be definitely appropriated. Inasmuch as in two of the seven provinces with Legislative Councils *viz.*, Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Punjab, the followers of this religion constitute a majority of the population, it seems possible that a certain number of Mahomedans may also be returned to the Council under subhead (*b*) of head D.

The foregoing scheme for the Imperial Legislative Council necessarily omits several elements which may form part of the Provincial Councils. Having regard to the wide variety of conditions in different parts of India it is improbable that any one scheme will prove to be equally adapted to all the provinces. For instance, the principle

of having recourse to election may be distasteful to the landed classes in some provinces, while in others where it has become familiar it may be accepted without objection. The general principle to be borne in mind is, as already stated, that the widest representation should be given to classes, races, and interests, subject to the condition that an official majority must be maintained.

At present the larger number of the elected members of the Provincial Councils, who again constitute the majority of the electorate for the Imperial Council, are chosen by Municipalities and District Boards. The Government of India have examined the franchises which have been framed for these bodies, and they find that the qualifications required both for electors and for candidates are extraordinarily low. Thus, in all but three of the mofussil towns of Bengal any one who pays Rs. 1-8 a year in rates is entitled to vote in the election of Municipal Commissioners, and is, himself, eligible for membership, not only of the Municipal Committee, but also of the Provincial Legislative Council, while any one who pays Re. 1 a year as road cess may take part in the elections of the Local Boards, who in their turn elect the members of the District Boards. This is the franchise upon which the election of the Bengal members, not only of the Provincial but also n a large degree of the Imperial Council, rests ultimately, though not immediately. And in the other provinces the qualifications are of much the same order of magnitude. These franchises were primarily devised with a view not to election of Councils, but to the management of local affairs; and their unsuitability as a foundation for the selection of legislators seems to have escaped notice in 1893. The Government of India do not propose to withdraw from District Boards and Municipalities the privilege of election to the Provincial Councils which they have enjoyed for the last fourteen years. But it does not follow that the present system of voting must be maintained unchanged, and a

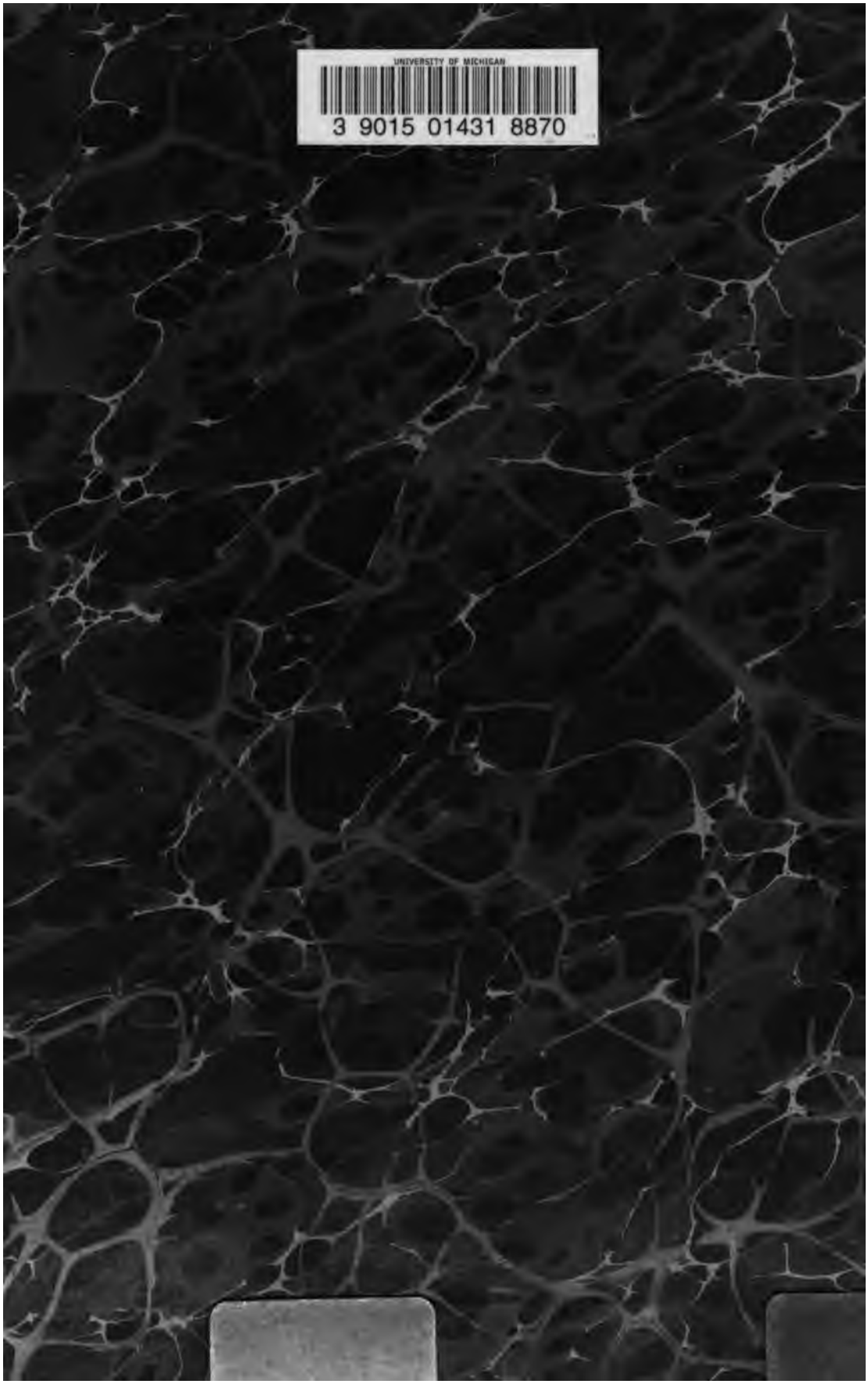
solution might, perhaps, be arrived at by introducing special qualifications for members of Council while leaving the electoral franchise in other respects unchanged.

It would be well also to consider whether, in view of the constitution of Indian society, it would not be advisable to introduce some such system for the representation of classes now liable to be crowded out by any predominant section of the population, as has already been admitted to be necessary in the case of Mahomedans. The Government of India do not wish to impose upon Provincial Governments any special line of action in making proposals with this object, but they desire to draw attention to the following scheme which has been suggested to them for the due representation of classes in local Councils and Boards :—

(*a*) The local Government shall determine how many seats are to be filled by elected representatives of the most important classes into which the population of the Province is divided by race, caste, or religion, and shall allot these seats to the several classes.

(*b*) For the election of representatives of each class the local Governments shall publish a list of voters consisting of members of that class who have held or are holding office in the Municipal or Local Boards, supplemented by others whom the Government may nominate after consultation with the Anjumans, Panchayets or other bodies who have been constituted by the class in question for the direction of its own affairs.

(*c*) As the constitution of the Provincial Councils must largely depend upon the Municipal and Local Boards, it is suggested that Local Governments should introduce into their systems of election and nominations for these Boards, the principle of assigning a fixed proportion of seats to each of the leading classes into which the population is divided by race, caste, or religion, and permitting the members of that class to select its own representative.


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